

HISTORY

OF THE

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES,

ILLUSTRATED BY

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LETTERS

FROM

P A R I S.

LETTER XLVII.

Naples under Spanish dominion.—New Imposts.—Insurrection of July 7, 1647, and Laws.—Massaniello's Power and Death.—Further Disturbances.—Insurrection of the Students.—The other parts of the Kingdom.—Nobility and People.—Joseph Palombo.—Excesses.—Conclusion of Peace.—Arrival of the Fleet, and of Don John of Austria.—Infraction of the Peace.—Assassination of the Prince of Massa.—Gennaro Annese.—Transactions at Rome.—Guise in Naples.—Arrival and Return of the French Fleet.—Letter of Annese.—Departure of the Duke of Arcos.—Count Ognate, and Don John of Austria.—Reconciliation with Naples.—Flight and imprisonment of the Duke of Guise.

THE history of the troubles which took place in Naples in the years 1647-48, is so remarkable and instructive, that every thing must be welcome which can contribute to its illustration and right estimation. I

therefore communicate a series of hitherto unknown letters and original reports, which I have discovered in the MS. collection of the royal library*. They are, it is true, anonymous, but beyond doubt proceed from men of note and eye-witnesses, who forwarded to Rome and Paris reports, in some respects of an official description, of the transactions they had witnessed. The greater part are written in Italian, some in French.

Since the conquest of Naples in the beginning of the sixteenth century, that country had been governed from Spain. If, however, Spain itself, the source and seat of power, was already, under Philip, sinking from year to year, how could her provincial dominions survive, which the king hardly ever saw, in which scarcely a native ever obtained a place of importance, and where pecuniary extortion passed or nearly so for the triumph of the art of government? To these official and avowed extortions were added those of individuals, who often arrived at Naples loaded with debt, and in a state of beggary, but left it in affluence, while thousands of the native inhabitants emigrated to Turkey, as to a realm where they might live better and more securely. The country was treated like a conquered province, which it

was the conqueror's object not to preserve but to destroy.

In pursuance of this policy, the Viceroy, Ponce de Leon, Duke of Arcos, in the beginning of the year 1647, laid an impost on various articles of subsistence, the levy of which was very difficult, and which weighed most heavily upon the poorer classes. Various symptoms of discontent immediately shewed themselves: the Duke was approached, surrounded, assailed, until he gave assurance of the removal of the impost, without having either the power or the will to keep his word. Nay, when in the night of M^o 20, the building erected for the receipt of the new taxes was burnt to the ground, those in authority still were convinced that concession would only shew weakness, and was less suited to the time or object than ever. On the other side, however, the discontent at this tyrannical indifference increased, and on Sunday, July 7, 1647, the first great revolt ensued, which is thus described in a letter of July 9.

In the course of levying the new tax upon fruit, so universally odious, a contest ensued between buyers, sellers, and officers, upon which a considerable number of barefooted boys and young people gathered together, and destroyed the buildings raised in various parts of the town for the collection and receipt of the tax. In the mean time the mob increased in numbers to

about 4000, though scarce one of the party was more than twenty, and many not more than ten years old. They marched through the town crying: "Live God and the King, death to the bad government!" They then halted before the palace and forced their way to the Viceroy, of whom they demanded, repeal of all taxes on consumption and restoration of the privileges granted by Charles V. The Viceroy gave them fair words, and appeased them so far as to procure their departure; by throwing himself however into a carriage, which was accidentally at hand, he excited fresh suspicion among those who observed him. The people pressed on to the carriage, dragged out the Duke, and maltreated him both in word and deed. In this alarming position Arcos again asked what it was they wanted? He received the same answer as before, and promised now that their demands should be complied with. He was willing to betake himself forthwith to the church of St. Francis of Paula, opposite the palace, and make oath upon the Evangelists to that effect. Satisfied with this they restored him his liberty. So soon, however, as the Viceroy had entered the church, with the help of the gentlemen of his suite, he shut the doors and suffered none of the people to enter, which caused a still greater uproar among the latter, until the Cardinal Archbishop Filomarino arrived, and promised to step in

as a mediator, and procure the fulfilment of their wishes. The mob was in some degree appeased by this; inasmuch however, as those in the church would not open the door to the Cardinal in fear of too many of the people pressing in, a correspondence ensued in writing through the closed doors. After several notes had been exchanged, the Cardinal turned to the people and said: They might be quiet, for his Excellency had granted what they demanded. He shewed them at the same time a paper, which contained the ratification, upon which the greater part followed him, or dispersed themselves with great signs of joy. Some, however, still remained, and pelted the guard drawn up before the palace with stones. The Spaniards retorted with musket shots, so that two of the latter and four of the mob were left dead on the place.

The Viceroy had in the meantime climbed over the wall of a cloister, and gained an unfrequented street, and betaken himself first to the Castle St. Elmo, but before daybreak to the Castel Nuovo. The people on the other hand raised their demands and said: The repeal of the taxes must be written upon parchment in gold letters, and engraven on marble pillars in various parts of the city. The Duke has also consented to this. The insurgents nevertheless increased both in numbers and the vio-

lence of their demands, and are joined by persons of a better class, artisans and tradesmen. All the prisons are broken open, and the prisoners let loose; they have spared the Vicaria only, saying, that the royal archives are there preserved; we will not do any thing to the prejudice of his majesty's interests.

They forced their way into the houses of some officers, who passed for favourers of the new taxes, and burnt every thing they found in them, without pillaging to the value of a farthing. If any one took anything up merely to look at it, the others compelled him with threats to throw it into the fire. It has even been seen, that persons who were all but perishing with hunger, would give articles of provision to the flames without putting a morsel into their mouths, and just in the same manner did naked persons deal with articles of clothing, which they might have used to cover their bodies.

The Duke has summoned the nobility to appease the people; for this end he has also released from confinement in Castel Nuovo, the Duke of Matalone. This, however, brought no remedy, as the people did no injury to any but the tax farmers and officers, who are suspected of having enriched themselves by peculation. Bodies from two to three thousand in number march meanwhile up and down the city armed with muskets, halberds, pikes, and swords.

They have chosen certain persons whom they call the council of war, and distribute commissions of captains and quarter-masters among individuals who promulgate summonses to the inhabitants of the various quarters of the city to join the insurrection, upon pain of having their houses burnt in case of default. A similar command has been sent to the places in the neighbourhood. On the first day of the revolt they destroyed all the papers in the secretary's office.

This day, upon the report that 700 German troops were marching from Capua to the relief of the garrison here, the multitude proceeded to Puzzuoli, disarmed the above and made them swear to serve the people. The palace is occupied by Germans and Spaniards. The streets leading thence, and towards Pizzifaleone, are barricaded with barrels filled with earth. Armed bodies march through all other parts of the city, carry images of our Saviour, Charles V., and the King, before them upon pikes, and cry out without intermission: "We will have no other God than the one whose image we are bearing, no other King than the King of Spain."

No one knows how the thing will terminate. The Viceroy is beyond measure perplexed and embarrassed, the nobles retire into the country, much property is deposited in the churches, and the interfer-

ence of some of the monks has as yet failed to produce any reconciliation. The report prevails on the contrary, that Capua and Salerno are in insurrection against the taxes.

On the following day, (July 10,) the following was proclaimed and posted up with beat of drum and sound of trumpet:—In the name of the most faithful people of the most faithful city of Naples, and of those who bear the chief command here, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy mother Mary, the pure Virgin, every one of what rank or occupation soever, is forbidden, on pain of death, to do any injury by night or day to any seller of provisions or to any tradesman, so that all may freely and without annoyance bring their wares into the most faithful city, and its inhabitants may occupy their homes and their shops in security. Upon similar penalty of death the captains of all the quarters are ordered to keep their forces in readiness for every order, and to suffer them in no manner to stray about the city. All those who do any injury to houses by fire or in any other manner, will equally be considered as rebels against the most faithful people. Given at Naples in our residence of Santa Maria del Carmine, July 10, 1647. The most faithful people of Naples. Printed in Naples by Secondino Roncagliolo, printer to the most faithful people.

With command that no other printer shall print the same.

A second order of July 11, runs as follows:—The most faithful people have been informed, that the oil merchants sell their oil in great quantities to convents and rich persons, to the serious injury of the citizens; this is forbidden on pain of their being punished as rebels. It may only be sold in the gross to apothecaries, or other dealers who sell oil by retail.

We further command the captains, upon similar penalties, to provide themselves with the necessary ammunition for the artillery. Moreover, all inhabitants of what rank and condition soever, from this day forward, must be in their houses from an hour after sunset. In case of any pressing reason for absence, such for example, as to obtain the sacrament, the approach of death, or child-bearing, they must inform the military officer, who is directed forthwith to furnish the necessary escort of soldiers.

These soldiers are bound in strict obedience to their officers, and will be punished in case of delinquency with stripes, or in graver cases, with imprisonment, &c. By command of his Excellency and the people.

TOMASO ANIELLO OF AMALFI.

Upon this person a letter of July 13, 1647, gives

further information. It runs :—In my former letter upon the occurrences at Naples, I had forgot the best, namely that the man, who commenced or at least carried forward the insurrection, is a poor fisherman some thirty years old, Massaniello by name, of Amalfi. 'One might call him, *homo missus a Deo*, for what he has done, and is still doing, could not in my judgment have been achieved by any general at the head of the greatest army. He is obeyed at a nod, and the execution follows close upon the sentence, so that within four days he has caused upwards of an 100 persons to be put to death as leaders of sedition and bandits. In short he displays as much judgment and capacity, as if he had been councillor of state for a century. Unhappily, however, within these few days many houses have been burnt.

On the previous Wednesday, the Viceroy, the archbishop, and Massaniello had appointed a meeting, in order to come to an agreement upon the measures necessary; while, however, Massaniello was in the church of del Carmine, six shots were fired at him, at the treacherous instigation of the Duke of Matalone, and his brother Don Pepe; which yet missed him in a wonderful manner. Several of the conspirators were immediately killed, the Duke pursued, Don Pepe with some of his associates seized,

put to death, and their heads fixed upon poles. Thus we have from nine to ten deaths per diem.

On Thursday evening Massaniello; well accompanied by the armed populace, visited the Viceroy, received considerable concessions, and drove back with the Cardinal who sat on his left hand.

The day before yesterday he issued an order, to prevent the carrying of concealed arms, that no one should wear a cloak; and although in point of fact, every one carries arms of all sorts, the cloaks disappeared on the instant; even the priests went without them, and lifted up their robes, and the women also cut their petticoats quite short. He ordered further, that all nobles should fasten up the arms of the King and the people before their doors, and in an instant it was done. Upon the whole, affairs go on prosperously in this afflicted town and kingdom, for in fact it was impossible that things should go on longer as hitherto. The same course is pursued in the provinces. They have removed the arms of the Duke of Matalone from his property, and fixed up those of the King. His property which has been discovered in several different convents, has been brought to Massaniello.

So many occurrences have taken place, that it is impossible to particularize them, and all simply by the direction of Providence; for neither that man, nor the inhabitants of Naples, are capable of such

could have done so much, except the hand of God were in it.

Nobles and high officers are as little visible as the stars at noon. A procession, since I wrote the above, has taken place as follows. Massaniello in front on horseback in a silver plated suit of mail, the letter of freedom in his hand, which he shewed to the people. Then the doctor of laws, Julio Genuino, in a litter, on account of his age; all the rest on horseback. Next the Viceroy in his coach, followed by many Spanish carriages. Then the army of the people 100,000 strong. Wherever the Viceroy passed, the people cried: Live Spain, live Spain.

I may append to these MS. accounts some illustrations from the memoirs of the Count of Modena. The contest began on July 7, upon this point, whether the new imposts were to fall on the buyer or seller, which of the two was to pay? The buyers, who naturally made the majority in Naples, upset the baskets of the sellers and divided among themselves the contents, paying no attention to the remonstrances of the officers. Nay, after Massaniello had given the word, that the taxes must cease, they put themselves in motion against the palace, where the Viceroy, instead of taking serious measures, entered into verbal communications, and gave opportunity to the people to heighten their demands, and finally to use force against him.

By these means the revolt was from the beginning so serious, that money, troops, and munitions were alike wanting to the Spaniards; who had by their mode of government offended the nobles no less than the people. To prevent the junction of these two classes, the Duke ratified a compact by which all the new imposts were repealed, and he contrived by many different artifices to increase the mutual dislike between the two. The attempt on the life of Massaniello, which was favoured by the Duke of Matalone, revived the storm at the moment when it appeared likely to be appeased, and exalted the power of the fisherman in the manner already described. If he had shewn himself from the commencement fiery and severe, he became after this attempt at his assassination far more suspicious and cruel; nay, from the day when a second treaty was concluded and the cavalcade took place, he fell into manifest phrenzy; either in consequence of his great exertions and agitation of spirit, or of much drinking of wine, or of poison. He was shot, and the people who had worshipped him with such devotion, looked quietly on, while his head was cut off and his body dragged through the mire. On the following day the popular mind was altered, and solemn obsequies were instituted, so that Massaniello on the first day reigned like a king, on the second was put to death as a traitor, and on the third honoured as a saint.

Among the Paris MSS. is an

Elogium

Thomæ Aniello de Amalfio

Cetario mox Cæsario

Honore conspicuo

Qui

Oppressâ patriâ Parthenope
cum

Suppressione nobilium

Combustione mobilium

Purgatione exulum

Extinctione Vectigalium

Proregis injustitiâ

Liberatâ

Ab his, quos liberaverat est peringratè occisus

Ætatis suæ anno vigesimo septimo, imperii vero

Decendio

Mortuus non minus quam vivus

Triumphavit

Tantæ rei populus Neapolitanus tamquam immemor
posuit.

The disorders of Naples, however, by no means ceased with the death of Massaniello, as is shown by the following letter of August 3, 1647*.

This letter is in a different hand-writing, and certainly by a different author from the former. All are without signature: some are originals, others copies.

Alas for our case! What extraordinary scenes, what horrors are we doomed to witness. The troubles are not over, except for a day or two at a time; the arms are not laid down, but are being taken up with redoubled violence. Last Wednesday upwards of twenty houses were burnt to the ground, money was carried off under pretence that it was the stake of a game, (*cose del gioco*,) and the proprietor, a noble, beheaded. The armed bodies strengthen themselves daily, and on the corners of the streets one reads the inscription, Away with the Spaniards! They wish to kill them all, and the leaders of the revolt themselves change their own agents every day out of suspicion.

On Thursday the students also put themselves in motion, 1000 in number, marched to the palace, and required the execution of the Aragonese letter of freedom; which means that the doctor's degree, which now costs seventy-two Neapolitan ducats, should be reduced in price to thirty-two.

The poor further threatened to set on fire the hospital of St. Martin, if great alms were not dealt out to them; they threaten to plunder the wine cellars of the Jesuits, because these do not sell by the flask, but only by the cask, &c. All payments are come to a stand, the poor man insists on living like the rich; I have already lost 31,000 ducats, and

scarcely know how I am to buy bread and cheese, nay bread and water. All are like madmen, and if the trembling Spaniards leave us, God be good to us.

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In a letter written some three days later, August 6, we find:—The revolt of the poor and the students is come to an end after all their demands have been granted. Many convents send forth their nuns; in many hospitals the patients are abandoned. In the convent of St. Clare, when the diet was placed on a reduced footing in consequence of the falling off of all its revenues, the servants and lay-sisters revolted, came to blows with the superiors, and among others the sister of the Duke of Noja had stones thrown at her head.—Those in the possession of power said to the Viceroy:—As they had been allowed to arm, they should also be allowed to administer criminal justice. Capua has disarmed its garrison, consisting of 400 Walloons; Ischia and Procida (as is said) have raised the French standard.

Another letter, dated a few days later, relates that the Spaniards have arrested some suspicious persons and several nobles, but the people remain master of the greater part of Naples. It proceeds: there is every day a review of the well armed and exercised militia of the city. From 600 to 700 usually remain before the palace of the Vice-King. The nobles are

in the highest degree dissatisfied with the daily increase of the burthens, but do not venture to let themselves be seen. The Viceroy no longer admits any Italian to his councils, but Spaniards only, and has forbidden the nobles to interfere in the affairs of the people. Some sailors dressed themselves like nobles and walked on the shore with their female companions in ridicule of the nobility. The litter bearers did something of the same kind.

In the rest of the Neapolitan dominions the troubles continue, nay increase. In Capua the people rose against the nobles, which latter, however, were assisted by the Viceroy with 700 German troops under a Spanish officer. This officer having erected a gallows, and commanded all to lay down their arms under pain of death, the populace armed themselves so much the more, confided the chief command to one Giacomo Rosso, disarmed the Germans, burnt several houses belonging to the more zealous of the nobility, ordered every Spaniard who could be laid hands on to be beheaded, and established a new government. Hereupon they informed the Viceroy of all which they had done for the acquisition of their liberty, and perpetrated various acts of violence on the nobles in the town and neighbourhood, possessing themselves by force of litigated landed property.

On the other side, the Count of Conversano has reduced to obedience and disarmed the greater number of his vassals, has hung some ten of the ring-leaders and thrown many others into prison. Again, on the other side, the small tenants of the Prince of Ottajano, with the assistance of the men of Naples, have forced their way into his castle, (where he had taken refuge,) have taken his wife prisoner, and killed several persons, among others, two ecclesiastics.

Another letter by the same hand, dated Aug. 20. says:—On Saturday a great body of fruit-sellers collected together, refusing to submit themselves any longer to the town officers; upon which the Viceroy yielded to their demands and permitted that a consul should be chosen from the people, with ten associates of their body.

The Marquis of Camerota, against whom his subjects revolted on account of the imposition of certain taxes, and who had been shut up by them in his castle, wrote to Naples, to purchase powder and ball. His money and his letters were, however, intercepted, and the Marquis thereby compelled to surrender with his people. Fifteen of the latter were beheaded, having been yesterday brought in to this place, and the Marquis himself delivered over to the Viceroy to be executed, which it is thought.

however, will not be done, as the demand to that effect is utterly contrary to justice.

In the castle here, five persons, as I myself learned from a jailor, have been strangled. Yet my informant dared not for his life declare their names, on which account it is to be conjectured that the Count Corvo is one of the number.

All the artillery in St. Elmo, which was formerly pointed against the hill, has been for these four days past pointed on the town. Many conceive that if the populace do not lay down their arms, force will be used as soon as the Spanish fleet arrives. If the people, however, remain united as now, many fleets will not be sufficient for the purpose.

I believe that the nobles and the Spaniards would willingly revenge themselves on the people, for they have been grievously injured by the latter, though deservedly, according to the judgment of God. If, however, the Spaniards take part in this, I fear that there will be an end altogether of fidelity and obedience. The people on the other hand declares : —That it will never lay down its arms, that in case of being assaulted it will not leave a noble alive, and will reduce the castles in twenty-four hours.

The newly elected Captain of the people, Joseph Palombo, is a man of understanding and spirit, who has much communication with the Viceroy and the

other ministers. He has prepared a list of 280 foreign merchants, from whom money is to be required for the King and the people. Several Englishmen have compounded already for 6000 of the ducats of this country. Some think the Viceroy holds a hand in this game; for Palombo paid no regard to certain letters proceeding from him, framed to excuse this merchant and that from the burthen, and threatened that the defaulters should lose their heads.

The next letter, still dated August, runs in substance:—In the moment when Naples, in virtue of the concessions made to the people, began to be tranquillized, revolts, more violent and bloody than the first, broke out. Among the points conceded by the Viceroy are established—that no one of the public officers, whose house had been burnt, should be judge in any case in which persons of the people were concerned. In pursuance of this principle the President, Cinnamo, was rejected by a party to a cause, and his incompetency confirmed by the Viceroy. Cinnamo, however, adducing testimonials from Genuino, Arpaja, and other leaders of the populace, that his house had not been burnt by the command of Massaniello and the people, but had been set on fire by personal enemies, Areos recalled his decision, and pronounced that he might exercise his functions as judge in the cause. Many were alarmed at

this, and feared that all cases might be considered after the precedent of this one of Cinnamo, and every burning be represented as the result of private malice and be severely punished. For this reason they hastened on the evening of Wednesday the 20th August, to the house of Genuino, with the purpose of putting him to death, for the having signed this testimony. Genuino, however, asserted that his signature had been forged, and appeased the multitude for the moment. In fear lest the truth should come to light, as in the result it did, he took refuge in the Viceroy's palace. He was soon followed by the multitude, who demanded that he should be given up. They had almost succeeded in quieting the populace, when a shot was fired from a neighbouring guard house after a German who was in the act of deserting, upon which the mob, conceiving that it had been aimed at themselves, fell upon the guard, and the latter having retreated into the palace, threw stones at the windows and endeavoured to force an entrance. Some losing their lives, the remainder fled, but took to ringing the bells, attacked with great increase of numbers the entrenchments of the Spaniards, took possession of several strong positions and palaces, and committed numberless atrocities, the city all the time being battered by the guns of the citadel.

These horrors, says the next letter, of Aug. 27, lasted several days, and the people remained under arms day and night. On Saturday, the councillor of justice, San Felice, and the President Cimmamo were by its command beheaded, their heads stuck upon pikes, and their bodies shamefully maltreated. The soldiers lie and waste away in the convents, divine service is not spoken of, and every one must pray to heaven that a peace may at length be concluded.

During the negociation, however, (this is established by the following letter,) the Viceroy was shot at; all provisions were cut off from the Spaniards, and placards with the following inscription were posted; Ye golden lilies, how long will ye suffer us to wait your coming?

At length, however, Sept. 2d, it was settled that the peace should be sworn to, on which occasion, however, a dispute for precedence arose between the captain, the military commandant, and the civil commandant, elected by the people, the latter claiming priority, because the other received his pay from him. In behalf of the people's officer appeared 1200 horsemen, sumptuously and unusually accoutred with trumpets and other music, followed by 50,000 of the people, for the most part armed; next came 600 horsemen partly employés and of-

ficers, and in their midst Toraldo, the officer of the troops; finally, in great pomp, the Eletto, or officer of peace.

These two, with the superior officers and the twenty-nine captains of the quarters of the city, called Ottini, were admitted into the castle, where they found among other persons the Cardinals Filomarino and Trivulzio and the Viceroy. After fresh contentions for rank between the latter and Toraldo, the peace was sworn, upon which great joy was displayed by all the people.

The report, however, of the probable speedy arrival of a Spanish fleet under Don John of Austria *, soon disturbed these friendly relations. The people, says a letter of September 2, 1647, fears a junction between the nobles and the Spaniards, increases its watchfulness, and hinders every thing from being introduced in the castles occupied by the latter. The Viceroy has caused the Eletto to come to him, and has told him, inasmuch as Don John will shortly be here at the head of 12,000 men, the people might as well restore the 16,000 stand of arms which had been lent them in order to equip the above force for the good of the city and the realm. In a council

* A natural son of Philip IV., born in 1629.

called by the Eletto to consider of this demand, it was determined, that as it was necessary Naples should be guarded by the people, the restoration of the arms could not take place ; Don John should be received with honour and obedience as became a person so exalted. The opinion meanwhile prevails, that he ought not to land troops. The Viceroy answered:—Inasmuch as Don John was sent by the King, and would be provided with higher instructions, he, the Viceroy, could neither promise nor decide any thing in the matter. This answer has again excited so much suspicion among the people, that it begins to take defensive measures, and both parties are observing each other with anxiety. Upon a report that several of the nobles were collecting troops, bodies of men were sent out to prevent them from entering the city.

The whole city is to-day in commotion, because the Cardinal Archbishop has set out the consecrated elements in several churches with an exhortation to pray to heaven for peace and tranquillity. As his Eminence drove, in the afternoon, through the market-place, he exhorted the people to follow him into the churches ; many replied, they could not leave their posts out of fear of those set over them. Although the cry be raised of Live Spain ! not a few—

would fain shake off altogether the Spanish sovereignty, and call in an Italian prince, but they know not which.

October 1, the Spanish fleet at last appeared, to the great joy of the Viceroy and his party. Don John, says a letter of the above date, came on shore; the people gave neither sign of joy nor of discontent, an immense number went down to the shore unarmed, to see the fleet, the quarters of del Carmine, Conciaria, and Lavinaro alone were on their guard, the insurrection having proceeded from those quarters of the city. Some hope for the confirmation of tranquillity; others dread the vengeance of Spain.

The Eletto has, out of compliment, sent provisions and wine to Don John.

The arrival of Don John, says the Count of Modena, rejoices every one: the Duke of Arcos, for he hoped by his means to obtain revenge; those whose houses had been burnt or had been otherwise outraged, for they expect by his aid to obtain a restoration of their rights and property; the people, because they look upon him as a pacificator. On the other hand, Arcos feared the too great influence of the Prince, wished to set him at variance with the people, or at least to throw upon him the odium of all the measures which he himself proposed to adopt. "Better," said he, "that Naples should be destroyed

than remain a nest of rebels and malefactors, and if 100,000 men were to lose their lives in the scuffle, the King would not lose a friend, but his enemies would be punished by a fate which they deserve.

Far therefore from meeting the people half way, or endeavouring to guide them by prudent management, the government issued a proclamation commanding them to lay down their arms, and as this demand, in despite of the exertions of the Prince of Massa, was rejected, it was determined to break through a peace which had been established only on compulsion, and to fall upon the city. October 5, a fire was suddenly opened upon it from the three castles, St. Elmo, Uovo, and Nuovo, and the entire fleet, and at the same instant the Spaniards made a sally, driving the populace before them in all the streets. Despair, however, gave courage, they chose to die with arms in their hands, rather than by the hands of the hangman. After two days' fighting, all the operations of the Spaniards had failed, the Viceroy was without resource, Don John in despair, and the Neapolitans determined to separate entirely from the Spaniards. The Prince of Massa, who on many grounds was reluctant to place himself at their head, fell under suspicion, and was cruelly murdered, and the armourer Gennaro Annese, (who could neither write nor read,) in an irregular manner elected leader.

The administration now fell into greater confusion than before, trade and agriculture were at a stand, access to the city was cut off by the confederate nobles, money and munitions of war were wanting, and the public necessities increased in the city from day to day. It was, therefore, necessary, either to look for a peaceful conclusion, or to resort to foreign aid. The latter, however, as Gennaro Annese plainly saw, was useless if not powerful, and if powerful, dangerous to himself. The aged Pope Innocent X. had no inclination for mixing himself up in the affairs of Naples, even the French ambassador at Rome hesitated, the Duke of Guise, then resident at Rome, however, was that way inclined, the more because he wished to be separated from his wife. He possessed, however, so little money and force to aid his popularity and courage, that the Spaniards, to whom his dealings with the Neapolitans could not remain a secret, were almost of opinion that they ought rather to aid than to obstruct his too hasty enterprise.

At last positive advances were made from Naples. October 24, 1647, they wrote to the King of France: The most faithful people of Naples and its government, implores your majesty with tears of blood, that you will let it enjoy the fruit of your benignity; Come with your fleet to the aid of this afflicted city,

and at the same time burn that of the enemy. By God's grace, and also by the vigilance of our captain of artillery, and our chief commander, has the pride of Spain, and an assault of 60,000 bullets been repulsed, and the hostile fleet been considerably damaged by a cannon which was discharged at it for eight days together without cessation. The people has raised its cry to your majesty. May your majesty, therefore, be not slow with your protection, on which be the blessing of God. We bow profoundly to your majesty, and kiss the hem of your royal robe, &c.

On the same day Gennaro wrote to the Duke of Guise:—After I, with the other leaders of the most faithful people of Naples, had read your very friendly letter, we determined to dispatch Nicolo Maria Mannara to your highness with letters and instructions. As we are involved in so many warlike concerns, we commission him to speak, to pray, and to decide for us and the most faithful people of Naples, &c. Letters addressed to the Marquis of Fontenay are of the same tenor.

With the help of some borrowed money, Guise at last effected the necessary preparations and sailed for Naples, as the following letter more particularly relates:—November 13, 1647, the Duke with his followers embarked on board eleven feluccas. Till towards morning the wind was favourable, and on

Thursday moderate. In the evening, however, five Spanish galleys made their appearance, which dispersed the feluccas, and when this danger appeared to be over, a storm arose, which again dispersed them, so that Guise arrived only on the 15th, in broad daylight at Naples, accompanied by only one felucca, and sailing with wonderful good fortune past the Spanish fleet, landed successfully. Hew as received with every demonstration of joy that could be devised, and conducted by Gennaro Annese to his residence in the del Carmine convent. On the following day he was appointed Generalissimo by the council with the same powers which are attached to the Prince of Orange in Holland. The promise of French protection was hailed with great applause by the people, who called the French king their Sovereign. As no picture of him was to be procured in Naples, Gennaro found one out of Louis XIII., before which, although the features were those of an old man, and it was wretchedly painted, many made bows and adorations. A standard with the arms of France was hoisted, and the drummers received orders to drum after the French fashion.

Guise visited the Cardinal Filomarini, who was compelled, although against his will, to treat him as an altesse. Guise was escorted by 1000 cavalry, and 10,000 of the populace, who shouted without inter-

ruption, "Live the King of France, live the most honourable republic, live the Duke of Guise! death to the accursed race of the Spaniards," &c.

Some of the populace cast their mantles on the pavement, that that might serve the Duke for carpets; others burnt incense at the windows in honour of him.

There are other letters which treat of the same events, from which I extract the following:—The uninterrupted oppression which the Neapolitans endured from the ambition of the Spaniards, has compelled them to shake off that tyranny, to place themselves as a republic under the protection of France, to name the Duke of Guise their Generalissimo and defender of their liberties. The sailors sought in vain during the storm to move him to retreat, he preferred the hazard of perishing, and compelled them to proceed on the voyage. On Friday, November 15th, he arrived at Naples, at about eight in the morning. An action so glorious that we can find no parallel to it in ancient or modern history. He was received with indescribable acclamation, and went forthwith to the church del Carmine to receive the scapulary of that brotherhood which in Naples is held in singular honour. He then betook himself to the house of the chief commander Gennaro, who shewed him all possible honour.

With respect to the latter circumstance the Count of Modena relates:—Gennaro demanded that the Duke should lodge with himself till his residence should be got ready in the Carmelite convent, in order that the public might thence be aware of their close friendship*. Guise was obliged to yield, though with reluctance; for the apartment was like a receptacle of thieves, in which silver plate, and other articles of value were piled in confusion. Gennaro and his wife prepared the food with their own hands, from fear of being poisoned, and slept upon mattresses, which were stretched on the earthen floor, amid a quantity of other rubbish and filth, which emitted the most insupportable stench†.

On November 18, says another letter of the 25th, there was a general review before the Duke. 80,000 men marched by, 20,000 occupied the posts against the Spaniards, and there were yet 20,000 more without arms. (According to the estimate of the Duke of Modena their exaggerated muster roll reduces itself to from 4 to 5000 real soldiers.) On the 19th was held a council of war, attended by all the officers,

* Mem. ii. p. 176.

† These memoirs of the Duke contain a most amusing description of the den of this brigand, and of his entertainment there. Some of the details are unsuited to delicate stomachs.
[Tr.]

and it was determined to march into the country, in order to re-open the communication for supplies which had been intercepted. Three bodies of 8000 men each, and accompanied by four pieces of cannon, were directed upon Aversa, Avellino, &c. They were partly successful, partly not so in their actions with the Spaniards. November 20, the Duke caused all the posts of the Spaniards to be attacked. The latter defended themselves in some parts with valour, but lost above 600 killed, and abandoned many of their positions, having, in fear of an attack from the French fleet, manned their own in greater force, and not having expected so serious an attack by land.

The Viceroy has called upon all the barons to support him upon pain of confiscation, but the greater portion replied, they found no obedience from their vassals, and trembled for their own safety. Some individuals have joined at once the popular party. The city has received some supplies by land, and even by sea, by means of the French ships, the want of the Spaniards being so great that many persons have been forced to fly. The Nuncio having endeavoured, in virtue of a papal letter, to bring about a conference with the Spaniards, the latter sent no negociator in return, and called the Nuncio a rebel.

Yesterday arrived fifty, to-day twenty, Frenchmen, sent from Mr. de Fontenay. They seem practised soldiers, and available as officers. The people has declared all the Genoese who possess property in the kingdom rebels, and has declared hostility against that republic, for its having provided the Spaniards with provisions, arms, troops, and money. The latter are so perplexed and confounded, that they know not, in fact, what to do. In consequence of their embarrassment, they betake themselves to talking and threatening when they ought much rather to resort to prayers. Thus they have pronounced the Cardinal, Archbishop Filomarini, for having received the visit of Guise, with all his relations and followers, rebels.

The Spaniards yet contrived so far to profit by the natural effect of circumstances, as to perpetuate the jealousy between the nobles and the people, and to interrupt the good understanding between Genaro and Guise. All these petty advantages, however, appeared to vanish, when a French fleet arrived before Naples. A letter of December 24, says upon this: On the evening of Wednesday a French fleet of twenty-nine sail appeared unexpectedly in our harbour. She lay opposite the Spanish, at a cannon shot distance, and challenged the latter to combat for three days together. The latter was thirty-seven

sail strong, not counting twenty galleys, but generally ill equipped; on which account they sent on board, in the greatest haste, German, Spanish, and Italian troops, and abandoned the land defence to the gentlemen, who refused to have anything to do with the sea. Not a few persons were pressed by force into the sea service.

The French, meanwhile, getting information that five Spanish galleys and four ships were making sail from Castel à mare, approached that part of the coast, and were saluted as friends by the ships. When the Spaniards perceived their error, the galleys escaped by dint of rowing; the ships, however, which could not gain the wind, were burnt.

The writer now goes into particulars of several actions at sea, especially of a great cannonade which ended in the loss of several Spanish ships, but in the abandonment, on the part of the French, of their station near Naples. Subsequent to this, the necessities of the city increased, and the Spaniards behaved worse than Turks, for besides murder and pillage, they committed other atrocities, which decency, says the writer, forbids me to relate. A man was sent by them to the galleys for having said he wished God might punish all the authors of the existing misery.

In the mean time, Guisc, by the suppression of

Annese, had acquired still greater power in Naples, the Count of Modena had reduced Aversa, and had made many inroads on the power of the nobles. Yet all this was not sufficient to obviate many difficulties. The Spanish party saw the greatest obstacle to their views in the Duke of Arcos, on which account the latter finally resigned his chief command into the hands of Don John, and, on the 26th January, quitted Naples.

Several letters give further particulars upon this. In the first place, Gennaro Annese writes, Jan. 10, 1648, (to the Marquis of Fontenay, as would appear): The recent disturbances induce me to assure your Excellency of my most obedient reverence, and to remark, that the Duke of Guise appears to be acting more for his own advantage than for the service of his most Christian Majesty. After having taken into his keeping all the money of the republic, and attached to himself many military persons, he went forth one day, on a sudden, accompanied by five or six officers who were always inclined to Spain, and sought to play the city into the enemy's hands. By these, who by the good citizens were considered as traitors, he has caused himself to be proclaimed as Duke, has robbed me of my command, and attacked, at the same time, the Torrione del Carmine with 150 soldiers, who were, however, disarmed by my

soldiers. He has likewise formed a band out of the black caps, i. e., the civil officers, which, during the attack of a post, raised the cry of Live the Spaniards; and although many of them have been arrested by the people, it is not observed that they are brought to fitting justice, which excites great murmurs. In short, the entire conduct of the Duke appears to me in contradiction with his duty, which I have therefore been anxious to represent to your Excellency, and to receive your commands thereupon, to which I shall ever submit myself. The priest, through whom the correspondence has been conducted with Rome, has been arrested by the Duke's order.

Beyond doubt, Guise was not entirely in accordance either with the French government or with the people of Naples, and the Spaniards had set several persons about him who persuaded him to adopt erroneous measures.

After nine months of the most sanguinary warfare, (says a letter of April 11,) carried on between landlord and vassal, citizen and citizen, nay, brother and brother, it has pleased God to send us a kind of peace. Subsequent to the departure of Arcos, the chief command fell into the hands of Don John of Austria, who applied every means to the restoration of tranquillity, and, in several public declarations,

conceded to the people their demands and even more. Persevering in the same course, the Count Ognate after him, favoured by several circumstances, brought the work of peace to an issue. For, in the first place, many of the nobles and citizens were still devoted to the King, and wished to take the first opportunity of shewing that they were so. In the second place, the price of provisions rose to a pitch not to be defrayed, and there was no prospect of a supply from any quarter. Thirdly, the long postponement of the promised French succours raised the conviction that it would never arrive. Fourthly, the license of the populace had risen to such a pitch, that it exceeded that of any other tyrant, and all were reduced to fear, not only for their property, but their lives. Fifthly, the disunion between Guise and the leaders of the people had its effect; the latter, after the violent death of Masaniello, fearing that he would remove them all, and, by the help of the people, to whom he allowed every license, establish himself in absolute power. These circumstances induced them to embrace negotiations with the King's party, which latter, on penetrating into some of the quarters of the city which had been the seats of insurrection, found scarcely any resistance. On Friday, 3d April, Guise marched out by

the Pausilippo road, with the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of the island of Nisida, but wished to return to the city on the Sunday, the stormy weather having made the operation impracticable. The leaders of the people, almost certain of an early peace, refused to readmit him, saying,—It was not expedient to abandon so hastily an enterprise so nearly concluded. The royalists, having got rid of the Duke in this fashion, entered the city on the Monday morning about ten o'clock, through the gates of the Holy Ghost and our Saviour, to the number of 4000, of whom 500 or 600 were Spaniards, the rest Neapolitans from those parts of the city which had remained faithful. In two quarters alone they found resistance of a very insignificant description. All shortly joined in assisting them, and cried Live the King! The Spanish party were the first to lay down their arms in token of amity, and throw their hats into the air. No one of them used violence, for it was forbidden on pain of death, but the people plundered, indeed, the palace of the Duke of Guise. The Count Ognate and Don John of Austria paraded the city, making friendly salutations to all, up to the Church del Carmine, where they again gave security to the people for the execution of what had been promised. The bells were rung,

the cannons fired, and all cried out *Peace ! Peace !* and tranquillity was restored and continued, to the admiration of every one.

Some Spanish soldiers who, on the following day, took away some things from the market and refused to pay for them, upon the first complaint, were sentenced to the galleys and the gallows. As soon as the people were aware of this severe proceeding, they took compassion, and, of their own accord, begged the Count Ognate to remit the sentences. Nor was any one allowed to call any one of the people rebel ; the revolt had been no rebellion, but a justifiable self defence.

As soon as Guise, on the Monday morning, received information of the conclusion of the peace, he took to horse, with many of his people, and set off on his way towards Rome, but was taken prisoner near Capua on the 7th April.

LETTER XLVIII.

Account of the occurrences at Naples, by Cerisantes.—His relations to Guise.—Protectorship of the King of France.—Guise and Gennaro Annese.—Contentions.—Arrest of Cerisantes.—Further progress of events.

WHEN the Duke of Guise sailed for Naples, the Marquess of Fontenay placed about him Monsieur de Cerisantes, as an agent of the King of France, and received from him an official exposition of events, which confirms and illustrates what has been communicated above. It is extant in the manuscript collection of the Royal Library at Paris, and runs in substance as follows * :—On my arrival in Naples, some six or seven hours later than the Duke of Guise, I was conducted by the people into the

* Dupuy, Vol. 674. In all probability the account is addressed to Monsieur de Fontenay.

house of the Auditor, Carlo Carola, who now enjoys unusual consideration, as since the closing of the courts of justice he is the only organ of the law. The Duke had alighted at the same residence, but was induced by Gennaro Annese to lodge at the Torrione del Carmine. The next morning I nearly lost my life, on my way to the Duke, in the press of the people, and in consequence did not accompany him to the Del Carmine church, but remained with several officers and captains in the ante-chamber of Annese. As they heard me here using strong expressions against the Spaniards, they fell upon the notion of raising me to the post of their Marechal de camp, and in spite of all my efforts to prevent them, Gennaro called back the council of war; they forced me into the assembly and gave me the principal scat. When Guisc, returning from mass, entered, and saw me in this position, he was red as fire. I went up to him and told him what had taken place, and how I had been brought where he found me, almost by force. He dissembled his vexation, composed his countenance, and said he was much satisfied. At the close of the sitting, all the officers who had called me to the post of Marechal de camp said to Guisc and Gennaro, that this appointment was earnestly desired by them, and that they wished the patent might be speedily made out.

Guise, who did not venture to make opposition, repeated his assent, and uttered many civilities to me on the subject; the others conducted me to my residence with beating of drums and shouts of joy. I had scarcely eaten, when they appeared again, and conducted me to Torrione, where I explained to the Duke how I made no claim upon that dignity, that I expected nothing except from his favour, and was by no means disposed to trench upon the dignity of the Duke of Modena, who was not yet arrived. Guise answered, I should hold the office, for the Duke of Modena was destined to another station. Three paces further, my favourers were waiting for me, with the patent already made out, and demanded only my name, which was all that was wanting for insertion. Instead of completing this, I took the patent, went to Gennaro, and combated the resolution which had been started, of refusing all establishment to the Duke previous to the arrival of the French fleet. Finally I overcame all contradiction, and he gave me the pen, that I might draw out a form of agreement, which ran:—Inasmuch as the Republic had accepted the King of France for its protector, but had invited the Duke of Guise to occupy, under that protection, the place in Naples which was held by the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands, it now declared him commander of its

army. He was to swear fidelity to the Republic, but to leave Naples so soon as the Republic should declare that it had no further need of his services. So soon as I had concluded this document, I pressed Gennaro forthwith to convene the council, that it might be read and approved by the members. When this had taken place, they called me, and made me take my seat on one side of the Duke, and Gennaro on the other. After my draft had been again read, the Duke presented me to the assembly as the King's servant, and received for answer that all were well pleased to honour in me a man sent from the King, and to whom they could apply in their need. I for my part received this honour without having sought for it, in the hope that it would afford me the opportunity of serving the King.

Guise at this time displayed his concurrence with every thing, but the Duke of Modena was scarcely arrived when circumstances were altered. They sought to keep me away from all affairs, and when the compact was to be printed for the Duke, I found the substance altered throughout from the draft which had been drawn by me and approved. Thus, for example, there was no mention left of the protectorship of the King, but so much the more was inserted respecting the obligations of the Republic towards the Duke. As I let fall a word on this sub-

ject to the Duke of Modena, he gave me for answer—"As nothing is now under discussion but an agreement between the Republic and the Duke, it is not necessary to say any thing of the King." An order was directly given out to silence the drummers, who thought to please us by drumming in the French fashion. To the solemnity of the taking of the oath by Guise, performed by the Cardinal Filomarini, I was not invited, but attended it only casually, and there was as little mention of the King of France in the oath as in the act before mentioned. Some, it is true, shouted through the streets, Live France! Live our most Christian King and the Republic!

At this solemnity, and down to the period of his fall, Gennaro always took the right hand, which the Duke's people could not understand. An old man pressed through all the crowd, and carried on his shoulder a picture of some former King of France. It was set up with great joy at the corner of a street, and all passers by took off their hats and saluted it.

On the same day another writing was published in the name of the republic; in the introduction of which it was stated that the republic had called on the King to be its protector, and the King had, through his ambassador at Rome, the Marquis of

Fontenay; undertaken the office, and dispatched the Duke of Guise for the defence of the Republic. This letter was read to the Duke in my presence by Francisco de Patti, whom you have all seen in Rome as envoy of the Republic. Guise, inasmuch as there was herein no mention of a compact between him and the Republic, but only of an acknowledgment of the republic, could not with decency reject the protectorship of the King; he therefore contented himself with denying that the King had sent him, and asserting that he had been rather invited by a special letter addressed to himself. I told him privately in his ear, he would probably raise dissension upon this in Rome, for in the letter addressed to the republic which he had brought from thence, it was expressly stated "*The King sends you the Duke of Guise.*" He repeated that the republic had invited him, and in this way was that recognition drawn up and printed. While this controversy was in progress, sonnets were distributed in honour of Guise, at the head of which was the inscription in great letters "Sent by the most Christian King hither for our defence."

On the following day the people stormed some barricades which Annese had to all appearance constructed against them. At this Annese fell into such fear that he besought the Duke to release him

from all concerns of the war department. Guise appeased the sedition, and endeavoured to bring over Pepe Palembo, a man of influence, and a great enemy of Annese, to the side of the latter.

Cerisantes, after recounting some military events and complaining that Guise had refused to acknowledge certain distinguished services by him performed, continues:—The Duke was obliged to think of means for aiding the republic, for there was an absence of soldiers, money, powder, and provisions, and all supplies were cut off. He began to levy infantry, at his own cost, as he said; from the funds of the republic, as others maintained. Under this pretence, and to exalt his own consideration, he published the patents in his own name, and without mention of the Generalissimo Gennaro, who complained loudly of the omission. At the same time, people of his suite began to take by handfulls, and they sought to gain over the nobles and the black caps without making any disclosure of their projects to me.

Inasmuch, however, as the people were nearly perishing with hunger in Naples, I spoke aloud of the necessity of taking the field; Guise, however, and my adversaries maintained that they must first have carried through their views in Naples, and that I spoke aloud of the necessity of taking the field;

Guise, however, and my adversaries maintained that they must first have carried through their views in Naples, and that I spoke as I did for the purpose of frustrating them. In any case there was here the greatest disorder and confusion. If I remarked that it was necessary to give the free state some form or other, their story ran, that I wanted only to weaken the power of Guise; if I appeased the suspicious Gemmaro, they said I was the cause of his bad humour; if I pressed the expediency of sending reports to Rome, they held every pretext justifiable for preventing my pernicious views and judgments from reaching that quarter. In short, they employed against me every practicable artifice. To Genaro I had in fact only said this: "That Guise would never encroach on the liberty of the republic; and supposing such a case possible, the King of France would be his first enemy."

I managed with great care to remain in the neighbourhood of the Duke in all his changes of residence, and (in opposition to the earlier convention) I was informed by the Duke of Modena:—It was necessary for him on account of his greater dignity, to eat alone, that I might take my place among the other gentlemen. I was silent, but caused the Duke to be told through my friends:—As it was not decent that I, being in employment of the King, should eat at

the table of his people, I requested him to allow that I might take my meals in my own chamber.

In respect of the dignity of marshal proposed to me for my acceptance, I had entreated Guise to keep it for his brother. Suddenly, however, it was by Gennaro's means, made over to Mons. de Modena, and it was set forth among other matter in the patent, that this was done in regard of his relationship to the Queen of Poland. On my complaining of this to the Duke, he answered: Gennaro had done it without his knowledge. Then, I replied, Modena has acted in the matter not with becoming respect for his lord, nor as a gentleman*with regard to myself. Two hours later, however, Modena received from the Duke's hands a confirmation which was much more comprehensive in its terms than the patent of Gennaro.

I pass over the further altercations between Cerisantes and the Duke's followers. They ended with the latter telling the former: "You are no ambassador, but a mere secretary for the cypher despatches, and I will bring you to reason as well as better men than yourself." As Cerisantes endeavoured to justify himself, Guise caused him to be arrested. On his release, which afterwards took place, the Duke said he had been driven to these measures, because Ceri-

santes had looked to robbing him of the honour of his enterprize and transfer it to the King.

Finally they were reconciled, and Cerisantes received the chief command of the Calabrese who had recently arrived; who, however, were divided into little else than mutineers and deserters. Subsequent skirmishes deserve no particular mention. Cerisantes' account of one will serve as a specimen:—Paul of Naples plundered Avellino, at which place 200,000 dollars' booty fell to him and his companions, but nothing to the republic.

Had Gennaro (says Cerisantes) been in any degree firm and determined, Guise's plan for procuring his own nomination as Duke of the republic, would have brought him into great danger. Carlo Carola proposed that a clause should be inserted in the deed, saying that they exalted him as a Frenchman.

One evening as Guise was conveying provisions into the city, a meteor was observed to the left which divided itself into three clear lights. All exclaimed at once, An omen, An omen! The majority interpreted the sign, that Guise should be king of three kingdoms. Carlo Carola declared his opinion in favour of three lilies. No one, says Cerisantes, asked me for my opinion, and I gave it to none; but I believe in truth that if that appearance had any

signification at all, it portended that in the spring we should have three parties in Naples.

Guise has taken the sumptuous palace of Ferrante Caracciolo in the nobles' quarter, which the lower people took so ill that he was obliged, in order to appease them, to attend mass every other day in the church del Carmine. Gennaro, who still possesses much consideration among the people, keeps himself quiet in his Torrione; converses with Guise nowhere but in the church, and asserts that he cannot, for fear of being assassinated, pay visits in a quarter where so many of the nobility reside.

The Duke endeavours to bring things insensibly back to the state in which they were at the period when Naples was a kingdom, and pretends to reserve the establishment of a republic for the time when the Spaniards shall be expelled. In this manner he has put in action the criminal courts, and has forbidden every one on pain of rebellion to decline any public situation proposed to him. Many obeyed, but with reluctance, especially in cases where they had looked to offices of greater distinction.

When Guise goes out, the people now shout nothing but bread, bread! Nay, one exclaimed close to him: Bread or Spain. The Duke, notwithstanding, does not lose courage, and has an admirable

faculty for conversing with the discontented. The Spaniards draw their advantage from all these circumstances. Thus a priest and another were yesterday arrested in the act of dispersing a printed proclamation containing the promise in the name of Don John of Austria, of a general pardon so soon as Naples should submit once more to the Spanish authority.

LETTER XLIX.

Finances and Constitution of Venice.

THE history of Venice is in all respects of the greatest interest, and deserves, notwithstanding the labour already bestowed upon it, to be again investigated from its original sources. Venice, however, itself is far fitter as the theatre of such researches than Paris, and we have reason to expect in that view, that Ranke, with his well known erudition and perspicuity, will soon have rich results of his inquiries to lay before the historical student *. I am myself only in condition to afford a small contribution.

The 10th vol. of the MSS. which are preserved under the title of *Relations Italiennes* in the *Chambre du Levant*, contains reports and narratives upon the war in the Frioul of the year 1515, the conspiracy

* Some of the results of Ranke's enquiries have appeared in his remarks on Darus's version of the famous conspiracy.
[Tr.]

of 1618, four letters from Giacomo Pietro to the Duke of Ossuna, and a circumstantial description of the Venetian state, which the Spanish ambassador la Cueva, drew up in the year 1619, for Philip III.

I communicate two fragments of this volume upon the finances and constitution of Venice, which illustrate, in an instructive manner, the actual condition of that State at a period little considered by many writers of history.

A principal item of the revenue of Venice exists in the customs and the taxes on consumption of wine, flour, meat, salt, oil, spices, wax, soap, silks, jewellery, and many other articles. To these are added conveyances of lands, houses, and other immovable property. In this manner Venice pays altogether

	1,797,792 ducats.
Padua	136,087
Vicenza	118,378
Verona	213,084
Brescia and its dependencies	337,693
Bergamo	104,730
Crema	37,526
Polasina	14,797
The March of Treriso	184,485
Istria	24,000
Frioul	52,764
Mare (tutti li stati di Mare)	837,966

If these revenues appear great, the outgoings are no less so, nay more, and are occasioned principally by the neighbourhood of the Turkish power, which makes it necessary to maintain many soldiers and fortified places. The number of the former amounts in an ordinary year to 10,000 infantry, and 700 cavalry.

There is, however, excellent order observed in the management of the expenditure. Its amount, the sources from which it proceeds, the manner and kind of its distribution, the number of the agents employed, is previously laid down accurately in writing, and the following is to be gathered on the subject, according to the confidential report of a person well informed. For every principal head of expense there is an appointed revenue and a separate chest, which are never mixed up with others.

We find in the first place three superintendants of all the revenues, who with their clerks, officers of account, servants and under-officers occasion a yearly expense of some 1400 (14,000?) ducats.

2. The Chamberlains, the Proveditori, Censors, heads of the Quaranties and many other employés. 172,450

3. The building fund for the maintenance of the public edifices. 8,377

4. L. Ufficio degli bravi. Police-guard. 2,710

gold, silver, silks, wool, purple stuffs, wax, Ducats.
 which distributions, with others in the principal emporiums, Cairo, Alexandria, Aleppo, &c. amount annually to from 204,000 to 400,000

21. The garrisons of all the islands.	. 200,000
22. The cavalry altogether.	. 81,000
23. Extraordinaries.	. 167,440
24. The chamber of loans to parties in distress.	. 40,000

The overplus, which ought to remain after the above expenses have been defrayed, is according to custom exhausted, partly by unforeseen or heavier expenscs, partly by the dishonesty and frequent shifting of the public officers. There is nevertheless presumed to exist a reserved sum of some three millions for extreme danger or emergency.

There is no doubt that this exposition of the finances of Venice is taken from official sources, yet the smaller cyphers would lead us to conjecture that the document is less what we call a budget, or an estimate, than a positive account concluded for a past year.

We gather further,

1. That Venice raised at this time many and heavy taxes on consumption, and that the system of direct taxation was not prevalent in this commercial state.

2. The taxes immediately directed to affect the

nobility appear to have been small; there is moreover no doubt that a great part of all the others found its way into their hands.

3. The land force was by no means neglected, yet served principally for the protection of the possessions out of *Italy*. The burthen of opposing almost unsupported the overpowering force of the Turk, and of resisting at the same time the great European powers, was too much for the strength of the republic. It would have been far more honourable and salutary for those powers to have laid aside their brotherly strife among Christians, and to have joined the Venetians in opposing the fearful power of the Moslems, so destructive of true civilization. The naval force of the Venetians cost them great sums, but they might have doubled it, if they had been in condition to have refused the Turk tribute and presents. The thirty years' war, which, just at this period commenced in a lamentable fanaticism, gave a pernicious direction to the policy of all Christian states and to the activity of individuals, and exhausted the strength of central Europe, which, if united in the sense of the policy of the eleventh century, would have been sufficient to have driven back the Turk into Asia.

The second extract I make from Cueva's report concerns the constitution, and is as follows.

The Prince or Doge is head of the whole state. Despite of this lofty title his power is much, nay so much limited, that he dares not even open a letter without the presence of one of his council. Neither has he any court establishment. On the other hand he wears a peculiar dress, (the description is omitted); the bells of St. Mark are rung when he leaves the palace, banners are carried before him and silver trumpets of great size are sounded. Then follows his golden chair, and a casket of state, lastly the Doge himself under a canopy, at his side two of the most eminent ambassadors, and, following him, thirty pairs of nobles dressed in red, the righthand man of the first couple bearing a sword.

All political power, and all the functions of government are in the hands of some 140 families, who number about 3000 members. Much jealousy exists between the old nobility and that newly elevated for merit or money, and in the elections passion and family connection have often greater influence than sounder reasons.

The first of the political bodies, which are all occupied by nobles, is the great council. Every noble who has verified his descent, and that he has reached the age of twenty-five, has the privilege of entering this body, with respect to which the following proceeding takes place. On the day of St.

Barbara all who have completed their twentieth year assemble. Their names are placed in an urn, and in another are gold and silver balls. The Doge draws from each a name and a ball, and those for whom golden balls are drawn (of which there are about thirty) remain in the council. That body assembles on all Sundays and festivals, and numbers about 1400 members. All public officers in the state, are there chosen. The second council, that of the Pregadi, contains, besides 120 regular members, several additional persons and officers, some of whom however have merely the right of consultation and not of voting. Nearly all important state affairs are here discussed. Four councillors of the Doge and sixty members who have right of voting at least, must be present to enable the council to adopt a resolution.

The third body is the collegio so called, in which, besides the Doge, six councillors, and the three heads of the Quarantia, many officers of rank have seats and voices. The letters of foreign princes are here read, audiences given to ambassadors and matters of business prepared, which are afterwards to be submitted to the Pregadi.

The fourth important body, the Council of Ten, is subject to no other power, and can take under its consideration all public affairs. This happens, how-

ever, only in cases of the highest consequence, or where error or delay cannot be remedied. Thus for example, in questions of peace and war, secret treaties; punishment of revolt or treason, or, generally, where deliberation and decision cannot be conducted with sufficient secrecy and dispatch in the great council, or that of the Pregadi. Those who are accused in the Council of Ten, are not at liberty to defend themselves, or to conduct their defence by others; a member of the council, on the contrary, undertakes in every case this task. No appeal lies against its sentences, they can only be reversed by the Ten themselves, or by their successors.

It is true that this report of Cueva affords no new conclusions; nay, that much remains dubious and unmeaning. I have, however, given even what may seem unimportant, because it cannot be uninteresting to know how a Spanish ambassador of that period considered the establishments of Venice.

I give in addition a passage from a report of the French ambassador, Mortier. He writes, Jan. 24, 1547* :—They have here, in Venice, on account of frequent acts of treachery, forbidden all intercourse between the nobles and the foreign ambassadors. I am excluded from the conversation of all and every

* Bibl. Roy. p. 8483. 8484. Mortier d^épeches.

of them, and since the mistake, in the time of Monsieur de Montpellier, they consider the French as men of levity, of little reflection, and babblers, and the wisest and most experienced among them are the shyest to enter into any connexion with us. They moreover increase every day the severity of that law ; those in power know the nature of their people, who are covetous, and prone to let themselves be tampered with.

In another place he asserts :—The Venetians will not enter into any closer intercourse with us. They maintain that every alliance with France or Austria has only drawn upon them loss, great expenses, new taxes, marriages and peaces at their expense, destruction of trade, &c. They do not give much ear to our charges against Charles V., and say he is employed elsewhere, and has no thoughts of subjugating them ; that, moreover, every defensive alliance ends in offence.

LETTER L.

Upon Cardinal Wolsey, and his secretaries, Stephen Gardiner and Cromwell. — Cromwell and Cardinal Pole. — Anne of Cleves. — Marriage and divorce. — Catherine Howard.

THE conduct of Henry VIII., whether considered with reference to the administration of his own dominions, or with relation to foreign powers, was at no period above censure, but became, subsequent to the death of Cardinal Wolsey, (1530,) still more self-willed and ungovernable. The latter is thus spoken of by ~~an~~ anonymous French writer, then resident at the English court, in a manuscript account, *De plusieurs particularités d'Angleterre* *. After relating his fate, he proceeds:—So this was the end of this poor, overweening, presumptuous Cardinal Wolsey, who thought that his power exceeded that of every man, and that his fortunes were exposed to no change;—so highly was he elated by his vain

* MSS. de St. Germain de Pres. Vol. 740.

and too arrogant opinions. Would we, however, judge him with due reference to all his qualities, we must confess that he was wanting neither in understanding nor penetration, nor in other qualities requisite in so exalted a situation. He possessed prudence and liveliness of intellect—strength and energy enough to go to the bottom of all public affairs; and conducted them all with such success, that no state was richer and more flourishing than England, no King more respected than Henry VIII., so long as the Cardinal was at the head of affairs. Twice he decided on the differences between the Emperor and the King of France, and was paid court to by the ministers of both those sovereigns, as if they had been servants of the King of England, and every one sought to conciliate him, with a view to gaining his own ends. In proof of his pride, it is related, that he caused himself to be served upon the knee by English lords, and allowed himself the use of haughty and contemptuous expressions towards foreign ambassadors. It is certain that all, on their return home, spoke of the pomp and the glory, as well as of the pride and the arrogance, of the Cardinal of York.

The Cardinal had two secretaries, the Doctor Stephen (Gardiner) and Cromwell. The former was well versed in civil and ecclesiastical law, as well as

in the Scriptures, and in other respects after the usual fashion of the English, arrogant and obstinate. He was sent by Wolsey to Rome, in order to bring about the divorce of Henry VIII. from his wife Catherine. I was told by several upon this, that the Doctor had received a double commission, to pretend one thing and work for another, which instruction he betrayed to the King, out of which flowed hatred and mistrust between the latter and Wolsey. After Wolsey's death the King raised Stephen to the Bishoprick of Winchester, sent him as ambassador to France, and placed him on his return in the privy council, and consulted him in the weightiest concerns.

Wolsey's second secretary, Thomas Cromwell, was a man of humble origin, and drove, as it is said, in his earlier years, the trade of a tailor. He soon after became a soldier, shewed himself brave and of great heart, travelled over Italy to inform himself, and saw during his stay in Rome so many abuses, that he afterwards strengthened Henry VIII. in his disinclination towards the papal court, and in the desire to tear away himself and his realm from under the influence of the church. Cromwell for the rest served the Cardinal with unimpeachable fidelity, stedfastly refused to bear witness against him, and defended him with the greatest firmness, in defiance of menace

and persecution. By this conduct he raised in the mind of the King the highest opinion of his fidelity, and having taken Dr. Stephen into his service because he had betrayed the secrets of Wolsey, he did the same by Cromwell because he had made no such discoveries. Cromwell by his dexterity rose so soon into favour with the King, that he acquired the management of all affairs, and no less power than the Cardinal himself had enjoyed. I have seen him (says the reporter) as familiar with the King as though he had been of his blood, which raised much envy against him on the part of the great.

Cromwell, however, understood no better than Wolsey how to maintain grandeur and dignity of position in relation to the tyrant King. He gave a counsel to the Cardinal Pole, says the French author, and said :—Every one who undertakes the conduct of the King's affairs, must diligently seek out the object to which his master is looking, and must adroitly conform himself thereto, and avoid above all things obstinately to oppose him ; for princes choose not to be overcome by any one but themselves, and when they have once taken their bias in any direction are not to be guided by arguments to the contrary ; by contradiction we gain nothing but their disfavour. Pole quoted Plato to demonstrate the iniquity of these conclusions, and told Cromwell :—

It might be true that by such a line of conduct a minister would obtain more influence than all other persons. Inasmuch, however, as the will which is governed by passion, and not by reason, is changeable, it would happen that the prince (his minister always abetting and urging him) would act in many instances through passion, anger, hate, or insane love, so as to inflict much after-injury upon himself and his dominions. Soon, however, in these cases repentance was wont to follow, and the prince, throwing all the blame on his advisers, would not only cast aside the favourite, but devour him. In this wise, according to our account, did Pole predict the termination of Cromwell's career.

It is certain, that the conduct of Henry and Cromwell on the destruction of the convents was severe and wilful, but the alteration in the public mind supported the commencement of that measure. In place of the ancient reverence, (says our MSS.,) which was entertained for the Pope and the Romish chair, there was not a masquerade, or other pastime, in which some one was not to be seen going about in the dress of a Pope or Cardinal. Even the women jested incessantly at the Pope and his servants, and thought they could do no greater disgrace to any man than by calling him priest of the Pope, or Papist.

It is notorious, that the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves was a main cause of the fall of Cromwell. The reports of the French ambassador contain interesting particulars on this subject *. He writes, Jan. 5, 1540, to Francis I:—On last Friday, Jan. 2, it was publicly proclaimed in London, that all who loved the King should come the next day to Greenwich, and meet Madam Anna of Cleves, who was to be their Queen. The ambassadors were invited likewise to the banquet, which proceeded with the greatest solemnity, wonderful quietness, and without any confusion. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk went out five miles to meet her, and the King and the rest of the court as far as an appointed distance. Anne, dressed in the fashion of her country, was received very cordially by the King, and conducted into her richly adorned apartment. She is some thirty years of age, tall and strong, of moderate beauty, and of a very assured and resolute countenance.

Marillac, in a letter to the Constable Montmorenci, adds:—Anne is not found so young nor so comely as all accounts had announced her to be.

* Marillac dépêches d'Angleterre adressées au roi et au constable Montmorency. Anno 1539, 1540. Bibl. Roy. MSS. 8481, fol.

She is tall and of such steady deportment, that it is thought by understanding and vivacity she will make up for a somewhat deficient allowance of beauty. She has brought with her from twelve to fifteen ladies, all of whom, in regard of external appearance, are yet inferior to herself, and are so clumsily and unbecomingly dressed that they would be thought hideous even if they were handsome*.

Marillac relates of the subsequent well known occurrences:—Anne, by no means opposes the divorce, which pleases the King the more, because, as is said, his new passion (amourette) is already with child. The other is now called shortly, Madam Anne of Cleves. She is any thing but low in spirits, occupies her time in every possible manner, and attires herself daily in new garments of wonderful pattern. All this indicates admirable prudence and dissimulation, or else excessive simplicity and stupidity.

The new Queen Catherine Howard, writes Marillac, Sept. 3d, is of moderate beauty, but of very at-

* Despatch of July 21, August 11, and September 3. Anne knew nothing of music : for Wootton writes,—In Germany it is thought a rebuke and an occasion of lightnesse that great ladies should be lernyed or have any knowlege of music. Ellis. II. 122.

tractive deportment, little and strong, of modest demeanour and mild countenance. The King is much in love with her, and more so than he has been with any of the others. She is dressed in the French fashion, as are all the ladies of this court

LETTER LI.

Manners of the English Court.—Edward VI.—Character of the English. — Education. — Hunting. — Women. — Servants, &c. &c.

AMONG the MSS. in the library, formerly that of St. Germain des Prés, is a description of England in the year 1551, drawn up by an eye-witness, the Florentine Petruccio Ubaldini*.

It commences with detailed accounts of the court, the dignities of the realm, the ceremonies, palaces, eating, drinking, usages, &c. It proceeds:—Many other ceremonies take place when one of the King's sisters eats with him. For she may neither sit under a canopy nor on a chair, (cadegra,) but must sit on a mere bench which is provided with a cushion, and so far distant from the head of the table and the King, that the canopy does not overhang her. The ceremonies observed before sitting down to table are truly

laughable. I have seen, for example, the Princess Elizabeth drop on one knee five times before her brother, before she took her place. The same kneeling takes place before any one addresses the King, and if the lords of the court are less strict in this observance, their security grows out of the youth of the King, and they would not have omitted it with his father, with whom no one spoke otherwise than on his knee.

Edward VI. loves to dress himself in red, white, and violet. The last named colour is so far appropriated by him that no one but himself dares to wear a hat of that hue. His livery, on the other hand, is green and white. As the English commonly attire themselves well and spend much on their clothes, Edward, in the same manner, (although he falls far short of his father in this respect,) constantly wears on all his garments embroideries of gold, silver, and pearls! He has a good demeanour, a royal appearance, much grace and dignity in every transaction, and is affable and liberal to the people.

Ubal dini mentions here the custom of making presents to the King on new-year's day, and gives detailed enough accounts of laws, authorities, military and naval force, religion, &c., but nothing new; he then passes on to the more general features of

the English character, from which I borrow the following.

The Englanders universally spend their incomes. They eat often and sit full two, three, four hours at table, not so much for the purpose of continually eating, as for that of agreeable conversation with the ladies, without whose company no banquet takes place. They are disinclined to exertion, and sow so little that the produce barely suffices for subsistence; by reason of which they eat little bread, but so much the more meat, which they have of all kinds and perfect quality. Puddings and cheeses are every where forthcoming, for numberless herds pasture day and night in the most fertile districts. There are no wolves, but many deer, wild boars, and other game. They are much addicted to the chase, and very hospitable.

The women in respect of beauty, grace, dress, and manners are nothing inferior to the Siennese or the most esteemed classes of the sex in Italy. The Lords have great tribes of servants; a servant receives usually two suits of little value in the year, eight dollars and his board, or, instead of the latter, sixpence per day. The people in general are tolerably tall of stature, the nobles in great part little, which comes from the prevalent custom of marrying rich damsels under age. Men and women are fair skinned. To

preserve or improve this natural complexion the latter let blood twice or three times in the year, instead of painting themselves like the Italian women.

The men are by nature obstinate, so that if any one be obliged to contradict them, it is necessary not to thrust at first but to shew them his reasons by degrees, which they then, by their good abilities, are quick to appreciate. Many not being aware of this feature in the English character have made a bad affair of it with people so suspicious.

The inferior classes in the towns and a part of the peasantry are averse to foreigners, and think that no state in the world is worth any thing after their own ; yet they are set right in such absurd notions by those who have better understanding and experience. It is, however, on this account not advisable for foreigners to travel about the country, because they are apt to enquire whether their countrymen are well or ill received in the traveller's country. If, however, he have with him a royal pass, he is every where well received, and is, moreover, forwarded with the horses kept for the royal service, or is enabled in case of need to require horses from private persons.

In the above respect the behaviour of the highest classes is altogether different, for there is no lord in

the country who is not fond of having about him foreign servants and gentlemen, to whom they give a liberal treatment ; and the King himself has many Italians and Spaniards of various occupations in his service. These are much in favour with the courtiers, who are fond of learning French and Italian, and study the sciences. The rich cause their sons and daughters to learn Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for since this storm of heresy has invaded the land, they hold it useful to read the scriptures in the original tongue. The poorer, who cannot give their children a scientific education, are unwilling to appear ignorant or altogether strangers to refinement ; they therefore dress themselves on Sundays and holidays well, nay better than becoming their station and pursuits. Men and women wear generally fine dark clothes with well worked bands and borders of silk, and thus following the expensive example of the rich, pay honour to the town and court.

The noble ladies are easily to be distinguished from those not noble, for every one of the former wears a small hat in the French fashion, the others a cap of fur or white cloth, according to their rank and the custom of the country.

Their marriage customs are not dissimilar to those other countries, but they marry early and contract second and third marriages ; nay, sometimes

married persons stand contracted with another man or woman before their own husband or wife is dead. In childbed the women keep state with very white linen ; some rise very soon, but go to church at the end only of twenty days, to return thanks.

LETTER LII.

Trial and execution of the Duke of Somerset.—The Duke of Northumberland; his Character and Death.—Characters of the Queens Mary and Elizabeth.

KING Henry VIII. of England was succeeded by his son Edward VI., under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, the Duke of Somerset. A cotemporary * writer gives the following account of the trial and execution of this nobleman.

After Somerset had in the first instance been released from prison, he sought to win the favour of the people in all ways, and caused reports to be circulated underhand, which threw all the blame upon the Duke of Northumberland. Thus, for example, the adulteration of the coin, which measure, so injurious to the people, had induced great disturbances, particularly in Wales. In this matter many persons,

* Relation de l'accusation et mort du duc de Somerset, St. Germain, Vol. 740.

tools of Somerset, were at work, giving it to be understood that the measure had been adopted against his wishes, and that if his advice had been followed, much would have fallen out otherwise than it did. Somerset, also, in conjunction with Arundel, and others of the discontented and envious, projected the plan of demonstrating in the next Parliament, that the kingdom was ill administered and the people oppressed with fresh taxes, the King poorer than ever, and that no public servant received his just salary; that those in power governed simply after their own caprice, without observing the laws or customs of the realm. A Mr. Palmer was privy to this conspiracy to whom Somerset had always shown great friendship, and procured great advantages. He nevertheless forgot gratitude and honour, whether out of cowardice or some ground of dissatisfaction; he discovered the conspiracy to the Duke of Northumberland, who anticipated the plotters and overthrew them. Palmer, before his death, repented of his conduct and declared, "he had never given evidence that Somerset was seeking the life of Northumberland;" he also caused the little children of Somerset to be brought to him and kissed them.

High and low feared Northumberland to that degree, that they vied with one another to do him pleasure. No man, on the other hand, ventured to

undertake or maintain anything against his will. In his exterior he shewed himself affable, mild, compassionate, but within he was the most restless, proud, and felon (félon) of men. In his house, and in all transactions, fond of pomp, and liberal. The latter quality was not, however, exercised by natural disposition and without an object; his gifts were distributed with cunning, and only among those whose favour he wished to win and such as could either injure or serve him.

In his youth he was of all men the most active on foot and on horseback, in fencing, running the ring, and archery. He had raised such an opinion of himself in the mind of the King, that the latter respected him as though he had been the Duke's subject, and did, as if of his own impulse, every thing which Northumberland desired, only to please him. From fear of exciting jealousy, should it be known how much he interfered in every thing, he caused all affairs in which he would not be seen to meddle to be set going by one Gaz *, a chamberlain, who also brought him information of all conversation which passed about the King. For this Gaz was always in the royal chamber, and was believed to be

* Sir John Gates, executed with Northumberland in the reign of Mary. [Tr.]

one of those who mainly instigated the King to make a will against his sister, Mary Tudor.

Northmumberland used to visit the King by night, when he could not be seen and all were asleep. In the mornings, Edward entered the council, and brought matters forward as if they proceeded from himself and were of his own motion, to the astonishment of many.

When Northumberland was afterwards sentenced to death, he called to him the Bishop of Winchester, and said to him :—You, although devoted to a peaceful calling, have often confronted death without fear ; I, on the contrary, who as a soldier ought to despise and have so often despised every danger, lose my courage now that my sentence is shewn me, and am so beside myself that I can think of nothing, cannot determine myself, cannot imagine how I can bear my death with patience. This man, once so proud, condescended to the most earnest supplications that the Queen would grant him his life, would award to him the most humble conditions of existence, &c. This all being in vain, he at length took courage, and confessed in the Catholic fashion, avowing that he had favoured the new doctrine to win favour from the court and people, not out of inward conviction. . No guilt, he said, pressed so heavily on his conscience as that of his intrigues

against Somerset. That he had been the most ambitious and crafty of men upon earth; all his dealings had had no other object than to raise himself and to ruin others.

To these accounts I append a description which an eye-witness, John Michele, gives of the Queen Mary and the Princess Elizabeth in the year 1557*. Mary Tudor is rather of little than middle stature, thin and delicately formed, lively eyes, short sighted, a strong, deep voice like that of a man, so that she is heard from a distance, extremely diligent in sewing, embroidery, and other female labours, so finished and able a performer on the spinnet that professors are astonished. Her passions, public and domestic, often throw her into deep melancholy. She is vexed about her husband, her own barrenness, the state of religion, &c.; but, above all, about her sister Elizabeth, upon whom, as her successor, the eyes and minds of all are directed. And truly it must vex not only Mary, but every one else, that the bastard blood of one sentenced and punished as a public strumpet, should be destined one day, with greater fortune, to rule this realm instead of its true and legitimate line of princes.

Elizabeth, now twenty-three years old, is a young

* Dupuy, 136.

woman who is considered as not less remarkable for the graces of the mind than for those of the body, although it may be said that her countenance is rather pleasing than beautiful. In figure, she is tall, well shaped, her flesh well to look on, though tending to olive in complexion; fine eyes, and, above all, a beautiful hand, which she seeks to display. Her spirit and intellect are admirable, so that she has known how to conduct herself, displaying both in times of suspicion and peril. She surpasses the Queen in knowledge of languages, for, besides knowing Latin, and Greek to a moderate extent, she understands Italian better than the Queen, and takes so much pleasure in the latter language, that she will converse in no other tongue with natives of Italy. She is proud, and considers herself (although aware what sort of mother bore her) as no less or less worthy than the Queen. Henry VIII. had set apart for her an annual income of 10,000 ducats. She would consume much more, and incur great debts, if she did not purposely, to avoid increasing the suspicions of the Queen, limit her household and attendance; for there is not a lord or gentleman in the realm who has not sought to place himself, or a brother or son in her service. So great is thus the affection and good will which is shewn her, by which, in one way or another, her expenses are in-

creased, although she opposes her poverty to the proposed enlargements of her establishment, which crafty excuse, however, merely increases her party of hangers on; it being considered not only unusual, but in the highest degree unbecoming, that a king's daughter should be so hardly dealt with, and so ill maintained.

She is to appearance at liberty in her country residence, twelve miles from London, in fact, however, surrounded with spies and shut in with guards, so that no one comes or goes, nothing is spoken or done without the Queen's knowledge.

Elizabeth knew by her skilful conduct so to win the favour of the Spaniards and Philip, that he made opposition when Mary would fain, through the Parliament, have declared her illegitimate. He made equal resistance against her being conveyed to Spain or some other foreign country.

The Queen would willingly bring her to punishment in recollection of former occurrences, and because Elizabeth or some of her servants, is named in every conspiracy; but she fears the anger of the King, as also a revolt of the people. For these reasons she suppresses her anger and hate, and forces herself when she meets her sister to treat her with respect and civility.

The despatches of the Imperial Ambassador in

England, Renaud, preserved in Cardinal Granvelle's collection at Besançon of the years 1553 and 1555, relate that Charles V. conceded indeed to Mary the right to adhere to her own faith, but advised her to show more mildness and prudence in religious matters, to avoid thereby irritating the people and nobility *. The suggestion of Granvelle, that it were well Elizabeth should take up her residence in Brussels, appears to have led to no consequences. Renaud, however, bears full testimony to the great joy of the people upon her release from prison, and to Mary's consequent disgust. For the rest, Renaud was much hated, and it was imputed to him that he had brought over strangers and popery to England.

May 20, 1560, Granvelle writes to Philip:—If your majesty, and we on the part of the Netherlands, had not told the French that we would never suffer them to set foot on England, attempts of that kind might well have been made †. In June, 1564, according to Granvelle's papers, a plan was under discussion for effecting the fall of Elizabeth then Queen, by aid of the Scots ‡.

* *Ambassades de Renard*, Vol. iii. The first negotiation for Philip's marriage is of August 4, 1553.

† *Memoires de Granvelle*, Vol. vi. p. 166.

‡ *Ib.* Vol. xii. p. 161.

LETTER LIII.

Elizabeth and Mary Stuart.—Marriage proposals of Charles IX.—Elizabeth's answer in refusal.—Leicester's pretensions and hopes.—The Archduke Charles.—Mary Stuart and Elizabeth.—Darnley.—Rizio's Assassination.

You may easily imagine that my great interest in every thing concerning Elizabeth of England and Mary of Scotland has led me to neglect no means of making discoveries respecting them in the Paris MSS. My trouble has not been unrewarded with results. Reports of the French ministers in London and Edinburgh, instructions for the English embassies in Paris, autograph letters of both Queens, &c. tell us it is true of no positively new or unheard of transactions, but afford us so many more accurate views, conclusions, and corrections, that I scarcely know how to dispose my extracts, whether to relate events in the order of their occurrence as to time, or to separate one source of information from another.

Perhaps a middle course may be the best to adopt and pursue.

The first source I have to explore is the despatches of Monsieur de Foys *, during the period of his residence as French Ambassador in England and Scotland in the years 1564, 5 and 6. He had received instructions from Catherine of Medicis, to bring about if possible the marriage of Charles IX. with Elizabeth, or, if this should fail, to favour the claims and wishes of Leicester, in order that no foreign and more powerful prince should become King of England. According to Foy's report, (undated,) Elizabeth answered †, I find myself on the one hand, much honoured by the proposal of the French king, on the other, I am older than he, and would rather die than see myself one day despised and neglected. On the part of my subjects, on the other hand, no obstacle exists, for I am assured they would conform to my wishes, and they have more than once prayed me to marry after my own inclination. It is true they have added that it would please them that my choice should fall on an Englishman; in England, however, there is none but the Earl of Arundel so

* Extrait des dépêches de l'ambassadeur de France en Angleterre. Le Foys MSS. St. Germain, 740.

† The negotiation fell out in the year 1565.

disposable in marriage, and he is further removed from the match, than the east from the west, and as to the Earl of Leicester, I have always loved his virtues, but the aspiration towards honour and greatness which is in me cannot suffer him as a companion and husband. My neighbour, Mary Stuart, added the Queen, laughing, is younger than I am, she will perhaps better please the King*. The ambassador replied:—This has never been spoken of, she having been the wife of his brother. Several persons, said Elizabeth to this, among others Lethington, have tried to persuade me that such a plan was in agitation, but I well knew that there was nothing in it.

Some days later Elizabeth again summoned the ambassador to her presence and told him, she found three difficulties in this project of marriage. 1. Dissimilarity of years, on which account she feared the King would grow discontented with her and despise her. And if this should not happen immediately, but twelve or fourteen years later, it would even then shorten her

* November 6, 1564, Mary Stuart makes mention of a plan, for a marriage between herself and the Prince of Condé, and in November, 1565, she had requested assistance from Philip II. in the event of being attacked by her subjects. Granvelle, Mem. Vol. xvi. and xxi. p. 125.

existence. 2. The King would not be able to live in England, nor she in France. 3. The English dread the power and influence of the French. Monsieur de Foys endeavoured to confute these grounds, but Elizabeth first protracted and finally broke off the negociation.

Soon after, August 22, 1565, Foys wrote to Queen Catherine :—In order to favour the Earl Leicester in all respects, as I was instructed by your majesty, I told Queen Elizabeth that she could do nothing better for the welfare, repose, and content of her kingdom, than marry with one of the great men of England; moreover, she would do wrong by the King and your majesty, where she to choose another foreign prince, inasmuch as her rejection of the proposals of the King was mainly grounded on the allegation that a foreigner would be unwelcome to the English. Elizabeth answered very courteously : I am not yet decided whom to marry. Whoever he may be, even if he be not a man of great means, he must obtain much power by the match, and become able, if he will, to conduct pernicious schemes. For this reason I am determined to concede to my husband that is to be, no jot of my power, goods or means, but to use him merely for the purpose of leaving successors behind me for my subjects' sake. Although you thus exhort me, to choose one of my

subjects, I yet shall not follow that advice in case I marry. When, however, I think upon marriage, it is as though one were tearing the heart out of my body, so far averse am I from it by nature, and nothing but the welfare of my people could drive me thereto. At the close of the conference, Elizabeth gave the ambassador to understand she had it in her power if she pleased to marry a king, (meaning the King of Sweden,) or a powerful prince, so as to overawe France. She complained also that Charles IX. took part with Scotland, while Darnley was writing her submissive letters and seeking her protection.

Some three months later, November 27, 1565, Foy writes:—The friendship and favour of the Queen towards the Earl Leicester, increases and extends itself daily, so that even his enemies become his friends, or pretend to become so; and on the other hand the earl makes shew of returning their affection. Cecil told me that Leicester came to his chamber and told him:—I have long known your good qualities, your conscientiousness, and knowledge of business. I have on these accounts always loved you, although I know that you would fain marry the Queen to a foreigner. I will now tell you plainly, that I am a claimant for the hand of the Queen, and that it seems to me she looks upon no one with favour but myself. I therefore beseech that you will lay aside all

other projects, upon which I will ever give you my hand, and not only keep you where you are, but take care for your further elevation as you deserve, and as the public service and welfare thoroughly require. Cecil promised to do this, and thanked him for his good opinion and the disposition which the Earl appeared to entertain towards him. In any case, said Foys further, these words shew how confidently Leicester hopes to marry the Queen; for some time since he would not have dared utter a wish to that effect. What strengthens me in this opinion further, is this, that when I very lately praised aloud the virtues and services of the Earl, and remarked that your Majesties (Charles and Catherine) would approve and favour the match, the Queen merely answered:—She thanked them greatly; without, as on other occasions, entering on the difficulties of the case. I said also, your Majesty would see with pleasure that the Queen despatched Leicester to France, and that the latter had besought me to represent this to her. (It is probable that this request was made in consequence of a quarrel which had taken place between the Queen and Leicester; she was now, however, angry that her favourite should wish to absent himself.) She called, says Foys, the Earl to her presence and asked him, “did he wish to go to France?” He replied—(was it

earnest or did he wish to embarrass the Queen?)—he humbly requested permission to that effect, for it was one of the things he most desired. The Queen replied that it would do him (the King?) no great honour to send a groom to so great a prince (!) She then added laughing:—I cannot live without seeing him every day. He is like my lap-dog, so soon as he is seen any where, they say I am at hand, and wherever he is seen it may be said I am there also. Knowing as I do, says Foys, how little constant she is in her views and resolutions, I can come to no certainty in these matters.

Three weeks later, December 19, 1565, Foys writes:—Leicester has pressed the Queen hard to decide by Christmas upon her marriage. She, on the other hand, has entreated him to wait till Candlemass. I know from a good hand, and have also learnt from other trustworthy persons, that she has promised him marriage before witnesses. Nevertheless, if she chooses to release herself from such promise, no one will summon her to justice, or bear witness against her.

Candlemass passed over without a decision, and Foys writes, March 20:—The Earl of Ormond is in great favour with Elizabeth, although he is deficient in spirit and ability to maintain his position, Leicester is nevertheless anxious.

A more dangerous rival unquestionably was the Archduke Charles of Austria, against whom the French ambassador endeavoured to excite the Queen, by the observation that he would find it necessary to derive his maintenance from her.* Another argument adduced by the French ambassador Fourquevaux, was of more consequence†. Charles, says he, is so foolishly in love with a woman with whom he lives, and who has borne him children, that he will hardly marry the Queen.

Upon Leicester's position and views we find the following information in an interesting despatch of the French ambassador, La Foret, August 6, 1566†. The Earl has admitted to me, laughing and sighing at the same time; that he knows not what to hope or fear; that he is more uncertain than ever, whether she wishes to marry him or not; and even if she do, she has so many and so great princes for suitors, that he knows not what to think, &c. Speaking more openly afterwards, he said—"I believe not in truth that the Queen will ever marry. I have known her from her eighth year better than any man upon earth. From that date she has ever declared without alteration that she would remain unmarried.

* Letter of December 24, 1568. St. Germain, Vol. 790.

† La Foret, dépêches, Do. 739.

Should she, however, by any chance, alter that determination, and decide in favour of an Englishman, I am all but convinced she would choose no other than myself. At least the Queen has often done me the honour to say as much to me aloud, and I am as much in her favour as ever."

Pass we now to Mary Stuart, of whom the earliest accounts I have discovered, are of an highly cheerful description. She devotes, says Foys, every morning to the chase, and every evening to balls and masquerades; which gives great offence to the Puritans*. At this time she was on good terms with Elizabeth; she writes at least to her ambassador Glasgow in Paris, October 11, 1564†:—Randal has brought me the most polite letters in the world from the Queen, Elizabeth. November 2, of the same year, she writes to the same:—I have sent Melvil to London to make my excuses to Elizabeth for certain letters which I had addressed to her, and which had appeared to her too rude. She has taken my explanation in good part.

These courtesies did not meanwhile remove the

* At 1164. St. Germain, 740.

† Lettres de Marie Stuart à son ambassadeur Glasco en France. MSS. in the library of Aix near Marseilles, No. 105, quarto. It nowhere appears where the originals exist.

points of contention between the parties, and Elizabeth said to the French ambassador Foys *—"There are two things in the way of a full reconciliation with the Queen of Scots: first that she will not confess she has offended me; secondly that she is about, as I foresee, to demand of me somewhat which I cannot grant, because it is more dangerous and pernicious to me than it is convenient and advantageous for her." This question of the right of succession of Mary was the more unacceptable, when she formed the project of espousing her cousin Darnley, and thereby doubling, as appeared to many, her claims. Not only her half brother the Earl Murray to whom she had trusted in all great matters, opposed the match, but Elizabeth raised, as is well known, still louder objections †. De Foys, who knew this, and was willing to take the part of Mary, found Elizabeth at chess, and said, profiting by the opportunity ‡ :—"This game is an image of the words and deeds of men. If for example we lose a pawn, it seems but a small matter, nevertheless the loss often draws after it that of the whole game. The Queen replied:—"I understand you, Darnley is but a

* Report of December 22, 1566.

† Report of Foys, October 1565.

‡ Report without date. St. Germain, 740.

pawn, but may well checkmate me if I do not take care. After these words she left off playing, complained much of the disloyalty of the Earl and his son, and made evident her intentions to deal roughly by them if possible. Disregarding the opposition of Elizabeth and Murray, Mary married Darnley, July 29, 1565, failed however utterly in deriving from this marriage the happiness she expected, and at length the murder of Rizio made the quarrel with her husband irreconcilable*. In a report of March 20, Foys relates the occurrence in the following manner.—The King was eating in a lower chamber and with him the Lords Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and others. After the meal he caused enquiry to be made as to who was with the Queen, who had eaten in a chamber above that of the King. Upon the answer, that David Rizio and the Countess of Argyle were with the Queen, the King immediately ascended to her apartment with the three abovementioned lords; he saluted and kissed her, paying her honour, and not omitting his accustomed caresses. Rizio, however, who had some

* Elizabeth said to Foys : Comme le Comte de Murray voulait faire pendre David que Marie aimait et favorisait et lui donna plus de credit et d'autorité que les affaires et honneur ne demandait. October 1555.

presentiment of the impending danger, and feared the companions of the King, withdrew himself into a corner of the chamber towards the door of a closet. At the same moment the Queen observed that some of those who had entered were armed and were drawing near to Rizio, on which account she cried out, demanding what they were about to do, and whether they wished to kill her? The King and all the others replied to this:—They were ready to offer their lives for hers, but Rizio they would take and so chastise, as he deserved. Instead of this Ruthven drew a dagger to stab him; the Queen however seized his arm and shielded her favourite from this blow. The King now tore him loose from her, dragged him into the next chamber, and struck him the first blow with his dagger, upon which several others completed the taking of his life.

Such an alarm meanwhile was raised in the palace, that the Earls Bothwell, Huntly and Leithington fled in fear, without learning the cause of the tumult. The next day Earl Murray with his followers entered *Lisleburgh**, and paid his obeisance to the King and Queen, who thanked him cordially, but soon, seeing themselves surrounded by so many armed men, proceeded with a few followers

* Edinburgh? [Tr.]

to Domkarb *. Others relate, that not the King but Douglas struck the first blow upon Rizio, and that he was wounded in fifty-five places. There are others still who confirm the first account, in letters to Elizabeth. They add that the Queen flung herself between the conspirators and Rizio, and implored them rather to kill her than thus to injure her honour, and to drag one of her servants against her will by force from her apartment. The King however seized and dragged him forth, upon which Mary reproached him with having come to deceive her by a Judas kiss; they should subject Rizio to legal trial, but not murder him against all right. It was however done, and the King, entering at the moment when Rizio was giving up the ghost, approached Rizio a second time, asked whether he had not yet enough and struck him with his dagger.

Darnley sought however later to convince the Queen of his innocence: she however is determined to revenge the death of Rizio, and has already caused two citizens of Lisleburgh and a gentleman to be executed for it. Rizio's body was, by her order, disinterred and royally bestowed in the church, which ill wishers much carp at, as also that she has taken

* Dunbar. [Tr.]

into her service as private secretary a brother of Rizio, an insignificant youth of eighteen, and, as it seems, means much to advance him.

Among the causes of the murder of Rizio, two are principally brought forward in letters to Queen Elizabeth. The first, that the King some days before, at about one in the morning, had knocked at the door of the Queen's bed chamber, but received no answer. Hereupon he cried aloud and begged Mary to open the door, but in vain. Finally he threatened to break in the door, and found the Queen, when she admitted him, alone in her room. Seeking however in every quarter, he discovered Rizio in a cabinet, who had thrown a dressing gown over himself, but in other respects stripped to the shirt. This has been the principal cause of the murder.—The second was that Mary would on no condition allow her husband to be crowned King, and rejected almost every prayer which he addressed to her to that purpose. He believed now, that all this was in pursuance of the advice of Rizio, and the Earls and Lords had similar grounds of late from causes relating to themselves. So far the reports of Foys upon these events,

LETTER LIV.

LETTER LIV.

Mary and Darnley.—Birth of James.—Du Croc's diplomatic reports.—Murder of Darnley.—Marriage with Bothwell.—Misery of Mary.—War.—Imprisonment.

No true reconciliation ever took place between Darnley and Mary after Rizio's death ; nay, so great was their alienation, that the Queen would not even summon her husband to the baptism of her son James, born June 19, 1566 *. A letter of Darnley's is extant, of that date, to the Cardinal Guise, which runs as follows:—Sir, my uncle ; Having so good occasion to give you news of myself, I will not omit to inform you, through the gentleman who bears you this letter, that the Queen, my wife, has even now been delivered of a son ; at which you will be no less content than ourselves. I, and my wife no less, have at the same time entreated the King of France to do us so much honour as to stand godfather to

your son, by which I shall be the more bound to gratitude for all his favours shown me, and shall ever be ready to serve him in every honourable fashion. Edinburgh, June 19, 1566. In great haste. Your very obedient nephew*.

This letter may be authentic, and the King nevertheless not have been invited to the christening of his son. The best and most instructive mass of information respecting these times, down to the flight of the Queen into England, must have been to be found in the reports of the French ambassador in Scotland, Du Croc. I have unfortunately discovered nothing but fragments of them, and those in so illegible a hand-writing, that, in spite of every exertion, and the assistance of many skilful friends, I have been unable yet fully to decipher them†. I communicate, however, as much as I have been able to extract. The fragments begin from immediately after Darnley's murder, and shew that the ambassador was informed of the crime; but in the reports which have undergone my perusal, he says nothing positive of the participation of Mary. It is certain that Darnley (considering himself as unfortunate and

* Among the letters of Mary in the library at Aix.

† St. Germain MSS. 740 and 228.

despised) had entertained the design of quitting Scotland, without regard to the representations of the Ambassador and the Queen.

Croc refused (doubtless in pursuance of the commands of his court) either to attend the marriage of Mary with Bothwell or to acknowledge him as her husband. He wrote soon after to Queen Catherine of Medici:—Madam; The letters which I send your Majesty through the Bishop are intended to be seen; yet you may believe that I confide in him, although I write, that you could not do better than receive him ill, and condemn the marriage. It is, in fact, too calamitous, and is already repented of. The Queen sent for me on Thursday, when I perceived something extraordinary between her and her husband. She wished to excuse this, and said,—“If you see me sad, it is because I do not choose to be merry, never will be so again, and wish for nothing but my death.” Yesterday, when both were closeted with the Earl of *Dommelle* (?), she exclaimed, quite loud, They must give her a knife wherewith to kill herself. The persons in the antechamber heard this. I believe that, without God’s special support, she will fall into despair. Three times, when I have seen her, I have given her counsel and comfort as good as I might. Her husband will make no long stay

here, for he is too much hated in this realm, and, moreover, it will be ever believed that the death of the King was his work.

The conspiracy directed against him by the nobles was also soon so powerful, that Croc reports:—The following day, June 5th, at ten o'clock in the evening, the Queen secretly dressed herself in man's attire, mounted a horse, and started on the road from Borthwick towards Dunbar, where she arrived at about three A.M., after having sat upon a common saddle the entire journey, and having met with the Duke on the way. She was soon, however, by the increasing danger, compelled to leave this castle also, and found herself suddenly in the face of the army of the nobles. At last, (Croc proceeds,) she found it necessary to despatch the Baron Langton and M. de Tresbrouin with the declaration, that the Duke was ready, for prevention of bloodshed, to enter into single combat, for which the Baron Tullibardine also offered himself. Bothwell evinced alacrity, and commenced arming himself. The Queen, however, informed of the circumstances, refused positively to permit that her husband should fight with one of inferior rank, and a traitor to boot. The friends and relations of Bothwell were hereupon of opinion, that if an earl or lord of high station should accept the combat, he and every one ought

piness. He answered :—" We are far from thinking that we do any thing unacceptable to you in separating you from him you call your husband ; nothing on the contrary can contribute so much to your peace, honour, and content. Has not Bothwell, since your marriage, written repeatedly to his former wife ? He has held her ever for his real spouse, but your Majesty for his concubine." Mary maintained that this was false, as his letters addressed to herself would shew ; but, added Lethington,—we are none of us in doubt that he loves his former wife more than the Queen. Lethington also told me that from the day after the marriage, Mary's tears and lamentations had no end. For Bothwell would not allow, that she should see or be seen of any one, for he well knew that she loved her pleasure and had pursued her pastime as much as any woman in the world *. The end of Mary's speech was, that as she was come to extremity, she prayed for nothing but to be put on shipboard with her husband to drift where her fortune might lead her. Lethington said, that were well, if both betook themselves not to France. I answered, on the other hand—I wished that they were both there, where the King might judge of the facts

* Qu'il savait bien, qu'elle aimait son plaisir et a passé son temps autant qu'une autre du monde.

upon their merits ; for these unhappy facts are but too well proved*.

* Je lui dis au contraire, que je voudrais, qu'ils y fussent et le roi en jugerait comme les faits le meritent ; car ces malheureux faits sont trop prouvés.

LETTER LV.

Mary's escape.—French interposition.—Cecil and Leicester.—Elizabeth's instruction to her Ambassador Norris, at Paris, upon her relations to Mary Stuart.—Darnley's Murder.—Flight.—Process in England.—Marriage with Norfolk.—Grounds of the stricter imprisonment of Mary.—Instructions for the Ambassador Smith.—Mary's negotiations with Spain and Rome.—Report of the French Ambassador.—Mary's entreaties to Elizabeth.—Letter of Elizabeth to Henry III. upon Mary Stuart.

To escape the vengeance of her subjects, Mary Stuart fled to England. The grounds of her arrest, the progress of the legal enquiry commenced with her consent, then broken off, &c., cannot admit of narration here, but individual points may be illustrated and gaps filled up. Elizabeth paying no regard to Mary's entreaties for liberty, the King of France, in the year 1568, despatched Monsieur de la Motte Fenelon to London, to back Mary's request*. In his report upon the progress of his negotiation he

* St. Germain MSS., Vol. 739.

relates,—first, that in the English court two lines of policy were advocated and hotly disputed, one for her liberation, the other the reverse. He then proceeds:—The Secretary of State, Cecil, does all in his power to divert back Elizabeth from her better counsel, and ventured in the presence of the Earl Leicester, with great license, (*licentieusement*,) to say—“You will be abandoned by your best servants, if you voluntarily, by the liberation of Queen Mary, throw your person and the state into so manifest and only too certain danger. Hereupon Elizabeth asked in anger: How he knew this? for up to this moment she had heard not a word on the subject from him which was not full of hate and passion. Cecil keeping silence, Leicester said—“You see, Madam, what kind of person is your Secretary of State, for as he was in conference with all of us yesterday in London, he assured us, he would advise you to release the Queen, and now he speaks in a quite contrary fashion.” It is thus, said the Queen, he often reports to me things which concern yourselves and thereafter every thing turns out to be otherwise. However this may be, Mr. Secretary of State, I will go through with this business, will hear the proposals of the Queen, and not wait for you other brothers in Christ*.

* Et ne m'en arrêter plus à vous autres frères en Christ.

At the council held upon this matter, opposed opinions were expressed with great virulence, and one whom they had prepared before hand declared; They ought not to entertain the proposals of the French Ambassador, that Elizabeth was deluded and deceived, that the liberation of Mary would draw with it dangers, &c. King Henry VIII. (this councillor proceeded to say) would not have let his prey escape, as some now in scandalous and miserable fashion advise, and if the French should come over out of their love for the Scottish Queen, I am myself ready, on command of the Queen our mistress, to cut off Mary's head. Hereupon the speaker fell upon Leicester especially, as not shewing fitting loyalty to his mistress in this matter.

Leicester defended his opinion in favour of coming to terms with Mary, and it was determined to proceed with the negociations. The Bishop of Ross, Mary's envoy, wrote hereupon a very courteous letter to Leicester, and besought him to procure him an audience of Elizabeth, that he might be enabled to write to Mary what had been resolved. Elizabeth answered the Earl, that this letter increased the suspicion that he took the affair of the Queen too much to heart. This remark nettled the Earl uncommonly, and he complained, first, that Elizabeth had interpreted the courteous tone of the letter to his disadvantage. He then said to her:—"I have never given

you cause to think of me otherwise than as a good councillor, and one whom all reasons in the world oblige to be always an obedient and most faithful servant to you. In respect of what I advise on the matter of the Scottish Queen, I believe, as certainly as I believe in God, that your repose and security depends upon it, and that opposite counsel would lead to your ruin and destruction. I can never change this my view. You, however, may act as you think good. I will, moreover, in order to obviate suspicion, for the future willingly abstain from the council." The Earl in fact journeyed hereupon to London; the Queen, however, forwarded without delay, to him and the Marquis of Northumberland, a commission to negotiate further with the Bishop of Ross *.

* The rest of this, and the following letter, being extracted from the copies of MSS. existing in the British Museum, are omitted. [Tr.]

LETTER LVII.

Letters of Mary Stuart to her ambassador, Glasgow, in Paris.—Correspondence between Henry III., Mary Stuart, Monsieur de Mauvissiere, the Duke of Guise, the Bishop of St. Andrew's, chiefly upon the relations of Queen Elizabeth and Mary Stuart.

I RETURN to the more important object of my inquiry, the history of Mary Stuart. My object being to impart sources of information, not to pronounce verdicts, it appears to me best to expose the information collected according to the order of time. I begin with some letters of Queen Mary to her ambassador Glasgow, at Paris, copies of which are extant in the library at Aix.

May 8, 1574 * :—I write no letters which others

* Je n'écris point de lettres, que les autres dictent. Ils les peuvent bien disposer, mais je les vois pour les corriger, si elles ne sont suivant mon intention. From this we might conclude

dictate. They may well draw them up, but I see them to correct them, if they do not follow my intention. If you conform in every thing to my will, you will find profit, honour, and advancement, and will be preferred to every one.* Nothing is now nearer my heart than to know those who will obey me, that I may use their service and reward them. If, however, any there are who strive to govern the course of my affairs after their own fancy, or who wish to labour rather for their own advantage than for me, I will yet see whether they dare to contemn my commands, because I am absent, or a prisoner. I am ready to hear the opinion of every man, in order to take the best resolution, to which God, according to his grace, will lend me the necessary gift of discrimination; where, however, I observe that a knot of persons forms itself for the purpose of thwarting my plans, I shall consider all participators therein as suspect, and use for my service those who take another road. I commend to you the old Curle, he is an old and faithful servant, and his son is faith-

that Nau and Curle could not write later without her approbation. Mary writes further, Feb. 20, 1575.—*Je ne veux rien conclure sur mes Etats, sans Nau.* In March, 1575, Elizabeth gave permission that Nau, a Frenchman recommended by the King of France, should be appointed Mary's secretary. *Ellis's Letters*, II. 278.

ful and diligent in my service. I have given the former a sum of money to spend in the manner he knows of.

Mary's cook had demanded to leave her service. She says with respect to him—I am not without danger if my victuals are not carefully watched; he is the only one who knows about it, and he also, as I have no apothecary, prepares my medicines.

July 9, 1574. I beg you to procure me pigeons, red partridges, and hens from Barbary. I intend to endeavour to rear them in this country, or to feed them in cages, as I do with all the small birds I can come by—a pastime for a prisoner.

July 18, 1574. Exert yourself continually, that my will may be followed in all my affairs, and send me, when occasion serves, some one with my accounts. He should also bring with him patterns of dresses and samples of cloths, gold, silver, and silk stuffs, the finest and rarest now worn at court. Order a couple of coifs, with gold and silver crowns, to be made for me at Poissy, such as they have made for me formerly. Remind Breton of his promise to send me from Italy the newest kinds of head gear, veils and bands, with gold and silver. I will reimburse him the expense.

Sept. 22, 1574. Transmit to the Cardinal, my uncle, the two cushions of my work sent herewith.

If he be gone to Lyons, I reckon upon his sending me a pair of beautiful small dogs, and you also might purchase me a pair; for, excepting reading and work, the only pleasure I have is in all the small animals I can procure. You should forward them warmly, and well stowed in baskets.

Feb. 12, 1576. I send the King of France some poodle dogs, (barbets,) but can only answer for the beauty of the dog, it not being allowed me to ride and hunt*.

* The rest of this letter is omitted for the reason before stated.

LETTER LVIII.

Correspondence between Henry III., Mons. de Chateaufort, Mary Stuart, Bernardin di Mendoza, Elizabeth, Messieurs de Courcelles and Bellievres.—The Duke of Guise, Ompson.—Complaints of Mary as to her residence.—Mediation of Henry III.—Relations with Spain.—Babington's conspiracy.—Mary's trial.—James I.—Scotch and French intercession.—Death of Mary; her obsequies.—Elizabeth's justification.—Ompson and the Duke of Guise.

No treaty came to pass between Mary and Elizabeth, and the Scotch with their king joined themselves still closer than before to the English. The correspondence by letter first recommences in 1586, and ends with the death of Mary. I proceed with my extracts in chronological order.

1. Henry III. to his ambassador in London, Chateaufort. February, 1586 *. I have, it is true, in-

* Pinart Vol. 8808. Bibl. Roy.

terested myself for the liberation of Mary, but I do not believe it advisable to renew the negociation at this period. Yet you may, when it appears convenient, make proposals to that effect; only always in such manner that nothing may be suspected or mal-interpreted, and that no prejudice may accrue to the interest of my own affairs thereout.

According to other letters of March and April, 1586, Elizabeth pressed Henry to appease the troubles in his kingdom. To which the latter answered:—this was only possible in the case of all his subjects embracing the new religion, as, in sooth, Elizabeth suffered but one religion in her dominions, and afforded aid to his rebellious subjects. Elizabeth hereupon denied that she had supported Navarre; nor was it Navarre, but the Liguists, who deserved the name of rebels. Finally, that the proposal made to Elizabeth that she should exhort Henry IV. to become a Catholic, was unbefitting (*mal seante*).

2. Mary Stuart * to Messrs. de Chateauneuf and

* Many of the letters from which the extracts contained in this letter have been made, have been printed by order of the late Lord Bridgewater, and are appended to an unfinished life of the Chancellor Egerton. That work not being in circulation, the Translator has not thought it advisable to class them with those excluded from these volumes on the grounds stated in the

Mauvissiere. September 6, 1585. Messieurs; Foreseeing that your answer to my last letters will reach me but late, I have thought good, without waiting for it, to communicate my just complaints upon what Sir Amyas Paulett has been directed to signify to me touching the memorial which I had sent you, which is in fact a plain refusal of the principal requests contained in it, to wit, respecting the change and convenience of my lodging, intelligence of the affairs of my dowry by Mons. de Cherelles, and the increase of the number of my servants, &c.; things but light and of no importance to my good sister the Queen of England; and nevertheless so necessary to the preservation of my life and health, to the preservation of the little good left me in this world, and to my consolation between these four walls, (where I see but too plainly from one day to another, that they wish to reduce me to all extremity,) that without the urgent necessity that I have of them, I could not find heart to beg them with such instances, pursuit, and supplications, the which I esteem the dearest

preface, but he has availed himself of the means afforded by Lord Bridgewater, for comparing M. Raumer's translation with the originals. This letter is given by M. Raumer, as of 1586, un-dated. In the copy printed by Lord Bridgewater, it is dated Tuthbury, 6th September, 1685. [Tr.]

price at which they could make me buy them, regretting infinitely that for all the duty to which I have voluntarily submitted myself to please the Queen in every thing, they had so little consideration and respect for my honour and contentment, for my establishment and treatment. To lay before your eyes then the necessity in which I find myself first for my lodging, that you may remonstrate on my part, to the Queen, (who has never, I presume, been well informed,) I will tell you that I am in an enclosure of walls, at the top of an hill exposed to all the winds and injuries of heaven. Within the said enclosure, like that of the wood of Vincennes, there is a very old hunting house, built of carpentry and plaster (noggin?) with openings on all sides, * * * *, the beams no where holding to the plaster, and the latter broken in numberless places; the said building distant three toises or thereabouts, from the walls, placed so low that the earthen rampart behind the wall is on a level with the highest part of it, so that the sun can no wise strike upon that side, nor any wholesome air reach it, but only a moisture and decay so great, that you cannot place a piece of furniture in that quarter, that it is not covered with damp within four days' time. I leave you to think how this must act on the body. And in a word, the greater part is rather a dungeon

for vile and abject criminals, than an habitation for persons of my quality, or of much inferior; assuring myself that there is no lord in the kingdom, nor specially those, who being much less than lords, wish to reduce me to less than themselves, who would not esteem it a punishment of tyranny to be reduced for an year to a so narrow and inconvenient habitation as they force and restrain me to. And for all lodging, I have for my own person, to which I call all who have been here to witness, only two wretched small rooms, so extremely cold, especially by night, that without the ramparts and entrenchments of curtains and tapestries which I have caused to be made, I were not able to abide there by day, and of all those who have nursed me by night during my sicknesses, no one hardly has escaped without malady, fluxion, or catarrh. Sir Amyas can bear witness if he has not seen three of my women at once ill, only by reason of this; and my physician himself, who has had his share, has plainly and repeatedly declared to him that he would in no wise charge himself with my health during the approaching winter, if I were to remain in this house. For as to replastering, or otherwise repairing and enlarging it, think how wholesome it would be for me to inhabit such a patched up dwelling, not being able to endure the least damp air; and there is, therefore, no reason in the

world to offer to make me here any new convenience or repairs for this winter. As to the house which it is proposed to me to occupy during the said repairs, it is a corps de logis nearly adjoining* to this, respecting which my guardian can also bear witness that it is not capable of lodging the few servants I have; and I have otherwise too many occasions to dread dwelling thus apart; of which I choose not to speak further at present. If I must come to the conveniences, I have, as I have told you, no gallery or cabinet to withdraw to at times, except two wretched little recesses, looking out on nothing but the dark part of the enclosure of the wall and the largest not a toise and a half square. To take the air without on foot or in my chair, (there being no vacant space on the summit,) I have only about a quarter of an acre of ground round the stables, which Sommer, during the last winter, caused to be dug and enclosed with a fence of dry wood, a place more fit to keep pigs in than to bear the name of a garden; there is no hurdled plot for sheep in the fields which has not better grace, in proportion. As to exercise on horseback during the whole winter, as I have experienced, sometimes the rains, sometimes the snow, break up the ways in such wise that there is no means of driving out a mile, even in my coach, from which, if I have need, I resort to my

legs. I am ashamed to be obliged to tell you even this, that as there is no house so filled as this with people of the lower class, that can long be kept clean, what order soever be put to it, so this, wanting common privies, is subject to such a perpetual stench, that every Saturday they are compelled to empty them; and so under my windows, that *Je ne recoy pas de peu plaisantes cassolettes*; and if, beyond what I have said, I may add the opinion which I have conceived of this house, a thing to be respected in persons less than me, in a state of sickness, I will tell you that as this place has been my first prison, and restriction in this kingdom, and where from the beginning I have received such rigours, insults and indignities, I have always held it since for wretched and unfortunate; as from the last winter, before I came to it, I caused to be expressed to the Queen of England; and in this sinister opinion I have been not a little confirmed by the accident of that priest, who, after they had so tortured him, was found hanged from the wall opposite before my windows. Of which I wrote to you, Mons. de Mauvissiere; and some four or five days from that, another poor man has been found precipitated into the well, which incident, however, I would by no means compare to the other. I have lost my good Rallay, who was one of my principal consolations in my

captivity; another of my people has since died, and divers others have been much vexed with illness. As I can have here no commodity nor contentment, and without the express assurances of all honourable treatment from my good sister the Queen, which have made me patient in waiting, I would never have set my foot in it; rather should they have dragged me hither by force, as I now protest that nothing but force shall make me remain here; and that if I perish by sickness, I impute it at present to the deficiencies of my lodging and to those who shall keep me here; in the intention, as it seems, of making me totally despair of the good will of the said Queen, my good sister, in things of importance, since in such reasonable matters of ordinary necessity, I am so ill used, and faith is not kept with me. To allege that the season is too advanced and the time too short to provide me with a new lodging, as if I had not before made instance for one, is to forget that so soon as my secretary was in these parts, he spoke for it very urgently to the Queen, and left a memorial for it with Mr. Walsingham. Since then, they were reminded thereof, as well by Sommer as by my own mouth; upon which they pay me in no other coin, than that the memorial was delivered to you, Mons. de Mauvissiere, and that the fault is in

you that you have not pursued it. I have, nevertheless, written different times, and have myself solicited Sir Amyas, so that there is no excuse in this regard*.

3. Henry III. to Mons. de Chateauneuf, July 1586†. The Queen of Scotland wishes for me to intercede, that she may be placed in a more healthy and convenient residence. Do every thing for her in this matter, which is possible with propriety (*honnêtement*). Yet this must take place with such good manner, that Elizabeth may take it well, and recognize therein the fair dealing which I ever observe in all things which concern her. I am satisfied you will know how to make this good.

4. Mary Stuart to the Spanish Ambassador Bernardino di Mendoza. July 2, 1586‡.—Sir Amba-

* There is some obscurity about this letter. Robertson adverts to the circumstances of her habitation—the death of the priest, as mentioned in this letter, as connected with her previous place of confinement, and speaks of her removal to Tutbury as effected by the intercession of the French ambassador.

V. Robertson, Vol. 3, p. 19. [Tr.]

† Pinart, Vol. 8806. Upon Mary I find no further dispatches in Pinart. The next report, in which mention is made of her, is of May, 1587.

‡ Bibl. Cotton. Caligula, c. ix.

sador! I write to you principally for the purpose of acknowledging the receipt of your letter, and to assure you that I attribute the postponement of your plans in no respect to the King your master; for I have always remarked him as a man of firm pace, as well in the general concern of religion, as in every thing which concerned myself, on which account I should be unthankful were I to entertain any other thought. That I suffer, is God's will; I am also ready to bring my neck under the yoke, and this delay disturbs me not so much on my own account as on account of the misery and trouble which so many worthy persons daily endure in this kingdom. Thus I feel more for the public calamity than my own. I have given commission to my ambassador, to speak with you upon the payment of some monies, which the Lords Paget and Arundel, and Morgan, some three years back, laid out, upon my assurance that His Holiness and your master would make the sum good. I pray you to lay out as much as possible for their satisfaction, as this is not only a matter of justice and importance for those concerned in the loan, but one in which my security is presently concerned. Chertley, July 2, 1586. The Queen.

5. Monsieur de Chateaufort to Henry III. 1586,

without date*. For this fortnight past, I have been unable to impart any accounts to your majesty, for all the ways to France are closed on account of a great conspiracy, which has been discovered against the Queen and the State, as she has told me. She has on account of it, caused from twenty-five to thirty persons, all Catholics, to be arrested; other arrests also occur daily. In this town there was great commotion, the people being greatly incensed against the Catholics, nay, fears of violence against all who might be taken for Catholics were entertained for the space of eight or ten days. The streets were full of bonfires, and they rung the bells for twenty-four hours together, because the Queen had escaped so great a danger. The plan was, as they relate it, to shoot the Queen in mid August, and according to the project discovered, for every Catholic in the kingdom to take up arms in order to set Queen Mary upon the throne. Elizabeth at least ascribes to her the whole undertaking, on account of which I made a journey last Sunday with Monsieur Esneval to Windsor, where she said to me, "I know that the Queen of Scotland has set this on

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Collection de lettres originales d'état. Tom. III. fol. 337. Also in the Egerton copies, probably of the end of August, or the beginning of September, 1586.

foot. This is in truth repaying good with evil, inasmuch as I have several times saved her life. In a few days the King of France will receive intelligence which will little please him." I answered, "She ought not to give credence to every calumny forged against the Queen her prisoner, and one who (as she well knew) had many enemies in this kingdom." I further begged her to clear up more precisely those of her expressions which regarded your majesty, inasmuch as you, like myself, would consider them very strange. She replied to this: her ambassador in Paris would afford the explanation. As I pressed her harder and said, "I knew not what bad accounts could reach your majesty from hence, so long as she were your ally and in good health," I received no other answer, than that she believed your majesty would find it very strange that an attempt had been made to deal her such an ill turn.

Now Sire, throughout the ten or twelve days during which the violence of the search lasted, the report was general in the city, that this conspiracy had its origin in France, that your majesty's self and the King of Spain were participators therein, that your fleet was prepared for its support, and that the leaders of the plot, not as yet discovered, had concealed themselves in my house, which, every one said, ought to be entered by force, that they

might be taken. Those of her council believing this, caused all the avenues to it and the adjoining houses to be beset, that I might not let the supposed inmates escape by night. Every one who since this period has gone forth from my house has been arrested, and strictly interrogated. I have on this account, made complaint of this report, as also of a thousand scandalous and injurious expressions, which my people receive in the streets, and that I was, as it were, besieged, and in danger of being sacked, &c. They answered nothing but that the people were highly irritated, and it was impossible to restrain them. The Secretary of State, Walsingham, also observed that the same thing had happened to him in Paris at the time of the night of St. Bartholomew; and I wrote hereupon to them that I was so far from wishing to conceal those of whom they were in search, that I was willing on the contrary to open my house and let it be searched through. Nevertheless I could get nothing from them but fair words, and it was not till those they sought were arrested, some ten or twelve leagues from hence, that the tumult somewhat subsided; and the guards were withdrawn from my residence, although some spies are still posted in the neighbourhood, who observe those who enter or go out.

On this account I raised great complaint last Sun-

day before the Queen, and even named to her those who had maligned your majesty in public, (being mostly French, who have fled hither on account of religion,) and demanded their punishment. Elizabeth replied, she was much vexed at the circumstance, and had never entertained a bad opinion of your majesty. If any spoke evil of your majesty, she was willing to order his punishment, yet it was impossible to forbid speech to a people, and she knew that 100,000 persons spoke evil of herself in France. I said here-upon that if her ambassador would complain and name them, your majesty would do justice in the matter. She continued, it would be necessary here to examine the accused, and know if it were true. Thus, although the facts were notorious, and the words spoken in the open market-place, I should be compelled to adduce witnesses and evidence, and to name those who had given me information of the whole, whom I would by no means name. Wherefore I request you, Sire, to speak with the English ambassador at Paris, or command me what I should do in the matter.

I also spoke with Elizabeth of the ships which have sailed towards Rochelle, as was said, as in fact there are three or four laden with Frenchmen, and with munitions purchased by those of the reformed.

religion here to be carried thither. She answered, "I know nothing of them, and if I arm, I do so to protect myself against my enemies, not to attack my friends." They wish to kill or drive me out of the kingdom, and to set the Queen of Scotland on the throne. But I will set order to these matters.

After Elizabeth had uttered several more bitter things against Mary, I took my leave, for it was late; and learnt on my return to this city that they had, on yesterday evening, brought in prisoners Nau and Curl, the secretaries to the Queen of Scotland, together with a great chest full of papers, and that they are strictly guarded in Walsingham's residence. This, Sire, taken in conjunction with the words of Elizabeth, causes me to conjecture that she is about to maltreat the Queen of Scotland, and so much the more, inasmuch as she seizes her principal servant. I also hear that he is strictly interrogated as to this conspiracy and closely watched.

I dispatch on these accounts my secretary to your majesty, and entreat that you will communicate to me with all speed your pleasure and opinion with reference to the contingency of their proceeding with the process against Nau, and even against the Queen. For I believe there are people here who

are inclined to do her an ill turn in parliament, (next Michaelmas,) nor is it possible, now that Nau is brought here with his papers, that they should entertain any other design than that of effecting the destruction of the Queen Mary in one way or another.

6. Monsieur de Chateanneuf to Henry III., London, September 7, 1586*. Sir, I have dispatched my secretary some days since, to acquaint you with the danger in which I saw the Queen of Scotland, since the arrest of her two secretaries. I have since, i. e. the day before yesterday, written to the High Treasurer, that Nau was your majesty's subject and servant to a sovereign prince, who, as widow of your brother, was under your special protection, and whom I was bound to serve in every thing which might concern her. Burleigh and Walsingham who were present, and to whom he communicated my letter, answered that Nau was a wicked man (*mechant homme*). He and his mistress had devised and constructed (*trainé et bâti*) a conspiracy so wicked and unhappy, that Elizabeth was determined to cause justice to be done against Mary and her two secretaries (who had confessed every thing). Proofs had been besides dis-

* Bibl. Roy, No. 9513. Lettres originales d'état. Tom. III. fol. 271.

covered in writings and letters of the Queen of Scotland and of Nau, that Elizabeth had thrice saved the life of the Queen of Scotland, who now returned a very ill reward, having concocted a so wicked conspiracy against her in intelligence with the Catholic King and Don Bernardin de Mendoza, letters from whom had been found in the papers of Nau.

The Queen had resolved to communicate every thing to me, and then to despatch a gentleman to your Majesty with the charges and acts of procedure complete; assuring herself, that when you should have had all these under review, you would no longer entreat her to pardon the Queen of Scotland. Among her papers a letter also had been found, wherein she warns her adherents not to confide in me, with respect to the conspiracy, as I should, in that case, have informed your Majesty of the same.

This, Sire, is in brief what these persons have imparted to me, from which your Majesty may gather in what condition the affairs of the Queen of Scotland at present stand. Not that I would answer that they would do all they talk of, (for if they meant to do it, perhaps, they would not speak of it,) but it will, at least, not lie with Walsingham if they do not maltreat her. At the least, they will place her in so

wretched a condition that she can scarcely be worse off*. I wait the orders of your Majesty, which I wish to be very express, and such as I may exhibit; for when I speak to the Queen of any thing which displeases her, she tells me that she does not believe that your Majesty has ordered it me, not that she doubts it, but to find an excuse.

7. Chateauneuf to Henry III., Sept. 11, 1586 †. The secretaries of the Queen of Scotland are still confined at Walsingham's, to be interrogated. All their papers and memoranda are looked through and deciphered in the presence of the Queen Elizabeth. She has forwarded every thing through a gentleman named *Baillx* (?) to the King of Scotland.

8. Chateauneuf to Queen Elizabeth, Oct. 18, 1586 ‡.—You would do well to proceed towards Mary with liberality and gentleness; consider that she is a Queen, a prisoner for the last twenty years, unacquainted with forms, &c.

* Chateauneuf, in a letter of Sept. 7, to Mr. Brulart, writes, in allusion to Mary's danger :—It is the intrigues of Bernardin de Mendoza, which seldom produce any fruits, and ruin all those who put faith in them. [Tr.]

† Bibl. Roy. 30. fol. 347.

‡ Bibl. Cott. Galba E. vi. fol. 312.

9. Chateañuneuf to Henry III., Oct. 30, 1586 *.—
Your Majesty will have received my letter of the 20th, in which I advised you, as how the Queen had sent the members of her council and twenty lords to Fotheringay, to examine Mary Stuart. They arrived on Tuesday, the 21st instant; and on the Wednesday she was sick, which was a reason that they did not see her. On Thursday she appeared in a great hall, fitted up for the purpose, where a canopy and chair of state had been brought and left empty, as for the place of the Queen of England, and a chair was set by it for Mary, at which she was incensed, and said, she had a good claim to sit under the said canopy, as having married a king of France. Casting her eyes hereupon over the assembled lords, and observing so many lawyers, she said, I see there many lords of council, but not one for me.

The Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Attorney-general now approached her, and set forth to her as how they had received the commission from Elizabeth, to interrogate her upon certain letters written by her to Babington and other conspirators,

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Lettres originales de Etat. Tom. III. fol. 381.

according to which it had been intended to kill the Queen and seize upon the kingdom. She refused to make any answer on this day, and said, She was a Queen, who knew no superior upon earth, and would make answer to none but the Queen herself. She added to this speech some further angry expressions.

The parties made their report of this to Elizabeth, who forthwith wrote a letter to Mary, the contents of which, translated word for word out of the English, are as follows:—You have in various sort and kind sought to take my life, and to bring my kingdom to destruction through bloodshed. I have never proceeded so hardly against you, but have, on the contrary, protected and cherished you like my own, myself. These treasons will be proved to you, and brought manifestly home to yourself. Yet it is my will, that you make answer to the nobles and peers of my realm so as if I were present. I therefore require, demand, and order, that you do make answer, having been well informed of your arrogance; but deal plainly, and you may have more favour from us. Signed, Elizabeth; without any subscription of sister or cousin.

This letter being arrived, on the Friday morning she came out in public, and persisted in saying, that she would not answer before them. She was, however, willing to say to them, she had sought in

every way to compass her liberty, and would do so to the end of her life, but she had never devised against the life of the Queen, or stood in connexion with Babington and the others to this end, but purely for her own liberation. If Elizabeth were to question her, she would tell her the truth, and they were not to receive all this as a formal answer, which she would not give, unless by the advice of the King of France, in whose protection she stood.

The Lord Treasurer hereupon begging her to look on the letters written under her own hand *, she fell into anger, and said, "There are several of my enemies here who have brewed (brassé) me this." She let herself go so far as to utter many bitter things, so far as to say: I have in fact had connections with many sovereigns in the matter of my liberation, and even wished to make a foreign force enter the

* De vouloir veoir les lettres ecrites de sa main. Burleigh writes, Sept. 8, to Walsingham: Nau hath amply confessed, by his handwriting, to have written by the Queen's endyting and her own minut that long letter to Babyngton: but he would qualify his mistress' fault, in that Babyngton provoked hir therto, and Morgan prevaled hir to renew hir intelligence with Babyngton. Ellis Letters, III. 5. Burleigh held the defence of the Queen for quite insufficient, and said: I am assured the auditors did find her case not pitiable, hir allegations untrew. Ib. p. 13.

kingdom to this end. All that she said was written down, read out, and signed by all the lords present.

Postscript.—Queen Mary has said, that she has sought to obtain her liberty by all means (only not by any devices against the life of Elizabeth). That she has, to free herself, desired to bring a foreign force into this kingdom, and to the same end has had intelligence with Babington and the other conspirators. This one fact (*ce fait seul*) condemns her, so that all the lords who were present are to meet on Monday next, Nov. 3, and, as I know from an authentic source, to pass sentence upon her and declare her worthy of death.

10. Chateauneuf to Henry III., Nov. 5, 1586.—Yesterday, Tuesday, in the morning, the lords met in the Star Chamber, where they remained till five in the evening. They caused the Secretaries, Nau and Curl, to be three times brought before them and questioned. All unanimously hereupon pronounced the Queen Mary guilty, and convicted of that conspiracy against the state of the Queen (*l'état de la Reine*).

11. Henry III. to Mons. de Courcelles, his Ambassador in Scotland, Nov. 21, 1586 *. Set forth to the King of Scotland in detail the grounds of plead-

* Bibl. Cotton. Caligula. C. ix.

ing for Mary ; incite him by all means to take the part of his mother. Tell him, in my name, that he will be praised for so doing by all kings and princes, and *vice versâ*, if he shew himself tardy in this matter, he will incur the greatest reproaches, and perhaps derive important prejudice to his own affairs.

12. Mary Stuart to the Duke of Guise*.—My good cousin ; To you, whom I most love upon earth, I say farewell, standing as I am on the eve of dying, in pursuance of an unjust sentence, by a mode of death which, God be praised, never yet fell to the lot of any one of our race, and still less of my condition. Thank God therefore ; for I was useless on earth in his cause and that of the Church, but hope that my death will shew my firmness in my faith, and my readiness to perish in this unhappy island, for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic church. And, although an executioner has never yet dipped his hand in our blood, do not, my friend, be ashamed of this ; for a sentence passed by heretics and enemies of the Church, who have no right over me, a free Queen, is honourable before God, and advantageous to the children of the Church. If I were attached to these, (heretics?) this blow would not descend upon me. All the members of our house have

* Caligula C. ix. fol. 449. Keralio v. 437.

LETTER LVIII.

been persecuted by this sect, as your good father, with whom I hope to be received into mercy by the just Judge.

I commend to you my poor servants, the payment of my debts, and beg for a religious foundation for my soul's sake, not at your expense, but after a manner which you will learn from my inconsolable servants, these eye-witnesses of my last tragedy. May God bless you, your wife, children, brother, and cousins, and, above all, our head, my good brother and cousins, as well as all belonging to him. The blessing of God, and that which I might give my own children, descend upon yours, whom I commend to God no less than I do my own son, who is thereaway unfortunate and deluded.

You will receive some memorials of me, to remind you to cause the soul of your poor kinswoman to be prayed for. I am deprived of every counsel and aid, except from God, who gives me strength and courage to withstand the many wolves who are prowling after me. To God be the honour.

Give special belief to all a person shall say to you, who will deliver you a ruby ring in my name; for I am convinced she will tell you the truth in every thing, also as to my poor servants and some others. I recommend this person to you, that, on account of her simple veracity and honourable cha-

racter, she may be well established somewhere. I have chosen her because she is least of a partizan, and will the most faithfully carry my commands into effect. Let it not, however, come to light that she has had any private communication with you, for envy might prejudice her.

I have suffered much for two years past, and could not, for important reasons, let you know it. God be praised for all, and give you grace to endure to the end of your days in the service of the Church. Never may this honour depart from our house! and may its men and its women be ever ready (all other worldly considerations set aside) to pour out their blood for the maintenance of the struggle of the faith! As to myself, I hold myself as born, both on the father's and mother's side, to offer my blood therefore, and I entertain no view of degenerating from them. May Jesus, who was crucified for us, and all holy martyrs, through their intercession, make us worthy to make a free-will offering of our lives to his honour. Fotheringhay, Thursday, Nov. 24.

They have caused the canopy to be removed, thinking thereby to humble me. Since this my guardian has come to me, and has offered to write to the Queen on the subject, as this had been done, not by her order, but on the opinion of certain of

the council. I have exhibited to them on that canopy, instead of my arms, the cross of my Redeemer. You will hear the whole discourse. I find them since that time milder (*plus doux*). Your devoted kinswoman, and entire friend, Mary, Queen of Scotland, widow Queen of France.

13. Monsieur de Courcelles to Monsieur de Chateaufort in London. November 30, 1586*.—King James promises to intercede for his mother through his ambassador, Kit, (Keith,) an honourable man, but a little Englishman. (*Un petit Anglais*.)

14. Monsieur de Courcelles to Henry III. November 30, 1586.—King James said to me: The lot (*le fait*) of the Queen his mother was the strangest which had ever been heard of, and there was no history parallel to it since the creation of the world. He had written in his own hand to Elizabeth, to four, or five, of the most considerable persons in England, and also to Walsingham; and desired the latter to desist from his bad offices and to engage himself no longer in this affair, he would otherwise do him a displeasure which he would have pain to entertain.

Several lords and gentlemen are, however, dissatisfied that he has sent Kit on the mission, a man of small substance, and a pensioner of England. They

* Bibl. Cott. Caligula. C. ix. fol. 449.

say: "in an affair of such moment, where the life of his mother is at stake, which must be dear to him as his own, could he in his whole kingdom find no other who would have reckoned this embassy an honour, no others who would have offered for it life and property?"—This makes it be believed that some secret understanding or other exists with the Queen of England; which belief is strengthened by the circumstance that Kit's instructions were prepared by the King, Lethington and Gray alone, and not communicated to the others.

15. Chateauneuf to Henry III., December 1586 *. —With respect to Queen Mary, said Elizabeth, I have given several days' time to my parliament, to consider upon the means by which I may be able to preserve her life without putting my own to hazard. Inasmuch as the proposals are not satisfactory, and no resource is to be derived, I will not be cruel towards myself, and the King of France cannot think it reasonable that I, the innocent party, should die, and the guilty Queen of Scotland be preserved. After much discussion to and fro upon this subject, Elizabeth rose, and as we persevered in our prayers, said to us: "in a few days she would give us an answer."

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Lettres originales d'état. Vol. III.

On the following day we received intelligence that the sentence pronounced upon Mary had been made public in London *. The ceremony of the proclamation was attended by the Earl Pembroke, the mayor and the aldermen of London; and on the instant they began to ring the bells of the city, which example was followed throughout the kingdom, and this ringing (*sonnerie*) has lasted twenty-four hours: they also lighted many bonfires for joy at the determination which the Queen had come to against the Queen of Scots.

This occasioned us to write to the Queen Elizabeth the letter of which the inclosed is a copy, wherein we (other means failing us) begged her to postpone the sentence so long as that we might be able to learn what your Majesty would wish to say, represent, and do. She caused us to be informed, that we should receive her answer on the following day through one of her councillors of state. The day is however passed, and we have learnt nothing. This morning Mr. Oulle?, one of the council, visited us and said, after long speeches upon the grounds for the execution of the sentence, out of consideration for your Majesty, the Queen would postpone it

This took place on December 6, 1586.

twelve days, without however pledging herself through this space, if in the interval any thing should be done against her which might be the ground for an alteration.

The Scottish ambassadors received the same answer to the like requests. They had said to Elizabeth, that if she were to execute the mother of their King, the latter would renounce her friendship, and all alliance with England, in order to consult with his friends how to order his affairs: Elizabeth at this fell into great wrath.

In so wretched a condition, so great danger, does the Queen of Scotland find herself; from herself we have no accounts, as she is very strictly watched. They have left her only four women and two servants.

The sentence of death was read to her in the presence of Lord Buckhurst. We have not heard that she said any thing else than that "she did not believe that the Queen her sister would deal so inhumanly with her." At the time of the public proclamation they removed the canopy from her chamber, hung the walls and beds with black, and sent her a clergyman to console her; she however has repulsed him, and declares that happen what may, she will die a catholic.

16. Monsieur de Courcelles to Henry III., December 31, 1586 *.—Sire, since the 30th November when I last wrote to your Majesty, the King of Scotland has received intelligence that the English parliament has determined that the death of his mother is the only means for securing the life of Elizabeth. In order to withhold the latter from proceeding further upon this advice, James determined to dispatch forthwith the Earl Bothwell and the Lord Gray and Sir Robert Melvill to London, and received upon the application of his ambassadors English passports for the two latter, but for certain reasons none for the first. Several think that this refusal springs from the intrigues and devices of Gray and Archibald Douglas, who would fain put out of the way the Earl Bothwell as an impetuous frank man, devoted to the Queen of Scotland. He could have shewn himself her friend, even if he had been made acquainted with some of the misconduct of which several accuse her.

The king of Scotland appears not much to trouble himself with this, from his desire to send some one quickly, to prevent further proceedings against the Queen his mother; and that in any case the passport

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Lettres origin. d'état. Vol. III. fol. 408.

being made out for Lord Gray who could take the said Melvill with him, these seemed to him sufficient for the above legation. The instructions for these were drawn up by Lethington, and bore immediate reference to the great friendship which had subsisted between the King and the Queen of England. In consideration of this and in virtue of her hereditary gentleness and goodness, which make her renowned throughout Christendom, she will not stain her reputation by the death of Queen Mary her near relation, of like blood and origin, and of her own sex. Honour forbade the King to forsake her or to grant that she should be executed after the desire of her enemies and unjust persecutors. Elizabeth's life, meanwhile, would be less secured by the death than the preservation of Mary. He therefore earnestly begged her to set Mary free in exchange for hostages, and conditions of surety; he would also pledge himself that she should attempt nothing nor devise any changes against her or her states. Should this however be unacceptable to Elizabeth, Mary might in that case be banished to some other quarter, upon which the Scottish envoys might consult with the French, and in general pursue their negotiations in common.

Should the Queen Elizabeth, however, and her council refuse to adopt this proposal, they might

endeavour to bring about that Mary should remain perpetual prisoner, and so surrounded by persons of notorious fidelity, that all connections with others should be impossible to her. He was ready for this end to make solemn engagements with his mother, and equally with herself, to acknowledge that in case of violation of the conditions she should be judged not as a Queen but as Elizabeth's subject.

To give these instructions more solemnity, James caused them to be read to the parliament, and called upon the Lords to give their opinion upon them. Hereupon the Lords Hamilton, Arran, Bothwell and others remarked, it seemed to them not unfitting to add that the King, if Elizabeth should proceed further against his mother, would declare war; or add some threats which would, in their opinion, be of more avail to restrain the insolence of the enemy than all the entreaties they could make. They wished also to strike out certain passages in the last instruction, as running contrary to the honour and dignity of the King, and being such as his mother herself would even in extremity refuse her consent to. The King answered; "the time is not fitting, and the posture of my affairs does not permit me to threaten the Queen of England, who is a very powerful Princess. The

last article moreover must remain unaltered, as a means by which the life of my mother may be saved.”

Upon this the Lord Herries prayed his Majesty not to take it amiss, if he were to tell him, that from the beginning, they had shewn themselves too tardy in the defence of his mother, which had given occasion to her enemies to proceed so far against her. The King however answered in anger—“ Although I am not bound to lay before my subjects an account of my dealings, I yet will that every one should know that if I did not speak earlier respecting the liberation of my mother, I so abstained because she herself had sent me word not to do it, and I will not do service to any ungrateful person *. For proof how I have in every thing discharged my duty towards her, our correspondence since my accession to the throne shall be laid before the highest tribunal of this realm, and copied. For the rest you may add or take away what you will in these instructions ; inasmuch, however, as the object is to save the life of the Queen, I declare solemnly that if she suffer death, her blood be upon all your heads and not on mine.

* Elle même lui avait mandé de ne le faire, et qu'il ne voulait servir à personne ingrate.

As they saw him so stedfast in his opinion, none would make reply ; many also concluded that he was advised that this was the only way to save his mother ; they had perhaps laid it down for him from England, and Elizabeth was perhaps informed of it. In any case the king will endeavour to derive therefrom advantages for himself. As he has made a general declaration that he would not openly declare against England, even befalling the death of his mother, but only in the case of an attempt to exclude him from the succession, as he himself has said to Lord Bothwell and Seton, all which may have given, as they pretend it has, more courage to the partizans of England, who are about him and know the facility which is said to belong to him, to persuade the Queen of England not to hesitate (*faindre*) in proceeding against the Queen his mother, for though her death would be displeasing to him, they would be able, by the great means they had in his court, and their favour with his person, or in any event by the occasions which time would procure, to excuse the execution which might be done upon her. The partisans of England who surround him have taken fresh courage. He trusts to his dexterity for being able to dissuade Elizabeth and her council from violent measures against his mother, and the

English think that, however disagreeable her execution may be to him, they will be able by their influence and other means, which time will furnish, to excuse and slur over the action.

This is the more to the purpose, as Lord Gray confessed to King James, he had written to the Secretary of State, Walsingham, and others in England, suggesting to them not to execute Mary in public but to remove her by poison. Gray could not, moreover, deny this, as these letters had come to the knowledge of some noblemen who threatened him with death in the event of any injury happening to Mary. This (as some believe) has caused him to undertake a journey to England with the better will, and to promise the King to set every thing in motion in his mother's behalf. He has confirmed this to me on the occasion of his departure, when I demanded of him and Melvill to co-operate with Messieurs de Bellievre and Chateauneuf. He hopes to repair his error and to remove the suspicion which has arisen. He is also, in the case of the death of Queen Mary, safer in the first moment in England, than here, where he would with difficulty withstand the impetuosity and effort of many who would rise on the first report they should receive of it.

17. Messieurs de Bellievre and Chateauneuf to the

Queen of England, January 6, 1587*. We have communicated to the King, our master, the answer which in two audiences you have given us in respect to all that we represented to you in his name with regard to the Queen of Scotland. His Majesty is in extreme trouble (*peine extreme*) at this answer, as well on account of that Queen, his relation and sister-in-law, as also on your own account, Madam, whose friendship he holds so high and wishes to preserve all his days. We entreat you, therefore, yet again to take his request into wise consideration, for he holds it for just, and no less in accordance with your honour and designs than his own. He wishes not, in speaking of a thing which concerns all sovereigns, in any respect to come too near your dignity; he acknowledges that you are sovereign princess, and have an equal interest with all other princes in this matter. As to the injurious treatment which your Majesty alleges to have received, specially from your nearest relations, your goodness has frequently declared, that you seek no vengeance, and we believe these words. As to what, however, regards your remaining doubt, that by the longer

* This is a second later representation of the Embassadors. *Negociations d'Angleterre*, Vol. xxxiv. p. 383. sq. *Bibl. Roy. Chambre du Levant*.

living of the Queen of Scotland your own life would be endangered and that you must take order accordingly, his majesty, your good brother, believes that the execution of that Queen, which some recommend, would be infinitely more prejudicial to your repose and health, your peace and the welfare of your kingdom than her life. If she were even living free in your kingdom or elsewhere, God has given you such power and means that you would be able to protect yourself against her; now, however, close prisoner as she is, she is unable to hurt the least of your subjects.

Since her 25th year, she has been without intercourse and council; it has been therefore so much the easier for certain persons to deceive her, and to obtrude themselves upon her with indiscreet proposals. Were she, as reigning Queen of Scotland, to have broken into England with the design of seizing on your realm and crown, and then to have fallen into your hands, she would, according to the laws of war, have had nothing worse to look for than to pay a good ransom. Up to this moment* I am utterly unable to comprehend how it can be in any way maintained that Mary Stuart is amenable to your tribunals; she came, although in great distress and seeking succour, yet as Queen, and your

* Monsieur de Bellievre speaks here in the singular number.

nearest relation, to England. She has long lived in the hope to be restored through your goodness to her kingdom; and instead of all these hopes being realized, she has up to this time arrived at nothing but an imprisonment which still endures.

Your Majesty wishes that a mean might be discovered, by which Mary's preservation might be made consistent with your own security; we have communicated this to our King, and he earnestly entertains the same desire. Yet it all seems to him to lie in your hand, as you have Queen Mary entirely in your power. This noble Princess is now so humbled and abased that her greatest enemies would have compassion upon her. Out of this I derive confidence in the mercy and generosity of your Majesty. What remains to the Queen of Scotland, but a wretched life of few days' endurance, and never have we been willing to admit the opinion that you could determine yourself to so severe an execution. Cicero said, speaking of King Deiotarus, to Julius Cæsar; It is something so unusual to proceed capitally against a King that such a thing has hitherto been unheard of.

If the Queen of Scotland be innocent, justice demands her acquittal; if she be held for guilty, it belongs to your honour to pardon her, and if you do so, you do but that which all good Princes would

do. King Porsenna drew the hand of Mutius Scevola out of the flame, and pardoned him, one who boasted that he had entered the camp for the purpose of murdering him.

The best precept for reigning well and prosperously is to refrain from bloodshed; for blood leads to blood, and such executions have usually their consequents. We are now at the festival of Christmas, when God, instead of taking vengeance upon the injustice and ingratitude of man, sent his only Son our Lord Jesus Christ into the world to suffer as an offering and redeemer for our sins. On this account we should at this season keep our eyes and thoughts averted from all things hateful, bringing ill fortune, and bloody. If your Majesty adopt the severest resolution against the Queen of Scotland, those with whom she is by rank and friendship connected determine themselves also to similar decisions; but if you shew kindness to her, all the Princes of Christendom will hold themselves bound to watch over your preservation, and foremost does the King of France offer himself for his part, and pledge himself with all his strength to hinder every undertaking directed against you. He will also keep an hold upon Mary's relations and bind them by oath and writing, that neither they themselves nor any other for them shall do anything against

you, &c. If you are willed without regard to all prayers and reasons, to proceed further, the King would sensibly feel it, not only in reference to the common interests of all sovereigns, but would consider himself as personally offended.

18. Queen Elizabeth to Henry III *. Sir, my good brother! The old ground on which I have often built my letters, appears to me at present so extremely strange that I am compelled to alter the style, and instead of returning thanks to use complaint. My God, how could you be so possessed, (forcené,) to believe that it were honourable or friendly to find fault with an oppressed party, (reprendre,) and to seek the death of an innocent one that she may become the prey of a murderess (meurtrière)! Ah! without reference to any rank, (which is no wise inferior to your own,) thoughtless of my friendship towards you, the most sincere; (for I have forfeited well nigh all reputation among the princes of my own religion, because I have neglected them in order to avoid setting your dominions in commotion;) exposed to such dangers as hardly any prince was ever exposed to; in expectation of some at least ostensible reasons and offers, in order to secure my-

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Lettres originales d'Etat, III. fol. 421. I have done my best to follow the style and periods of the original.

self against the daily danger. In spite of all this, for the epilogue of this whole negociation, you are so blinded by the words of those who I pray God may not ruin you, that (instead of a thousand thanks which I had deserved for such singular and unusual services) Monsieur de Bellievre has addressed language to my cars, which in truth I know not how well to interpret. For to tell me, that if I did not save the life of that woman I should feel the consequence, (*ressentir*,) seems to me the threat of an enemy, which (of this I assure you) will never put me in fear, but is the shortest way to despatch (*depêcher*) the cause of so much calamity. It would grieve me much, if you should have to feel the consequences of such ambitious dealing. On this account, Sir, my good brother, cause me (to end the matter) to be informed, through my ambassador in what sense I should take those words: for I will not live an hour to endure that any prince should boast to have humiliated me in such wise that I, to my shame, should have emptied such a cup.

It is true, Monsieur de Bellievre has somewhat softened his language, in adding, that you in no wise wish any danger to accrue to me, and still less to prepare me any. I therefore write you these few words; and if it please you to deal with me in accordance with their purport, you shall never find a truer and safer

friend ; in other case however, I am not of such low estate, (*de si bas bien*,) nor do I rule over such insignificant dominions, that I should yield in right and honour to any prince upon the earth, and I doubt not, through God's grace, my party will be strong enough to maintain me. Think rather, I beseech you, on the means of maintaining than of diminishing my friendship. Your states, my good brother, cannot abide many enemies. Give not the rein, in God's name, to wild horses, that they may not shake you from your saddle. I say this to you out of a true and upright heart, and implore the Creator to grant you a long and happy life.

To this collection of original documents, for the most part unknown, I append one with the following title:—19th, —. The last discourses (*propos*) of the Queen of Scotland, from the announcement of her sentence to its execution *. Monday, Feb. 15, 1587. Lord Belle (Beal) one of the lords who are about the said Queen of England, was sent by her to Faldruetzay, (*Fotheringay*,) with orders to make every preparation for the execution of Queen Mary. The Earl of Scherubury (*Shrewsbury*) also, and some other lords of the neighbourhood, received

* In the same volume, 34, of the relations d'Angleterre, and probably forwarded by the French ambassador.

orders to be present thereat ; which Monsieur Beal, upon his arrival, would fain visit, the same day, the Queen, as he did, and towards eight or nine in the evening presented himself at the door of the room, which was suddenly opened by one of the chamber women, of whom he asked if the Queen were prepared to go to bed. She answered, the Queen was so prepared, and had laid aside her mantle. She entered, incontinently, the Queen's chamber, and told her that Beal was already in the antichamber and wished to speak with her. The Queen having resumed her mantle, and given permission to that Lord to enter, he saluted her, and said :—Madam, I wish that it had fallen to another than myself to be the bearer, in the name of the Queen of England, of tidings so evil as mine ; but as a faithful servant I could do no other than obey her orders. It is, namely, to warn you, as I do, to prepare for suffering, at ten o'clock to-morrow morning, the execution of the sentence of death, which was some days since announced to you.

With great firmness, and without any consternation, Mary replied :—I praise and thank God that it pleases him to put an end to so much misery and misfortune as for nineteen years past I have been compelled to suffer. From the beginning of my imprisonment I have been ill-treated by the

Queen my sister without (God is my witness) having injured her. I give into his hands my spirit innocent, my heart clear, my conscience pure, before his Divine Majesty, of the crimes of which she has caused me to be accused, and I shall carry this day this same innocence boldly before his face, as before him who is the only Judge of my past actions. And since I am to die by a so violent death, in consequence of a sentence, unjust, and pronounced by men who have no right over me, I will nevertheless submit and present myself thereto, and which will be more agreeable to me than to live longer in the same calamity, and in the torture (martir) under which they too long have made me languish. Nor have I expected any thing less from the deadly hate and cruelty of the Queen towards me, and her complaisance to the counsels of my old enemies, of whom she has made use in order to compass my destruction and death, the which I am going to suffer in patience, in order to be freed from their uninterrupted persecutions, and (if it please God) to reign for ever in an happier abode than that which has been my lot for the greater part of my life in the hands of so severe and cruel a relation. Since she, however, has thus determined, and with such severity, God's will be done !

When the maidens, and other persons about the

Queen, received this sad intelligence, they began to weep and wail, nay, almost to give themselves up to despair, if it had not been for the sweet consolation imparted to them by the poor princess; exhorting them to use patience, in remembrance of the sufferings and death of our Lord Jesus Christ, upon which their hope and redemption was founded; praying the said ladies to watch and pray to God with her continually, which they did till two in the morning, when she wished to lie down on her bed, but rested there for only half an hour, and betook herself thereupon to a cabinet, which served her for a chapel, in order there to offer her particular prayers, entreating, however, all those who were in her chamber to continue their prayers while she was making hers, as she did till towards morning, when she came forth from her devotions, and addressed her ladies in these words:—My good friends, it grieves me infinitely that I cannot reward as I could wish the faithful service you have performed towards me in my need. I can do but one thing, viz., add a clause to my will, in which I will charge my son, the King of Scotland, to give fitting satisfaction to each of you after my death. Upon this and upon other matters I will write to him specially.

She upon this went into her cabinet to write, having the pen in her hand for two hours; and

when she had nearly ended her letters, there was a knock at the door, which she herself opened. It was Beal and her keeper Paulet, the person who had the custody of the said lady, and whose duty it was to take her, and to lead her to the place appointed for her last moments. She begged them to indulge her with half an hour's space, in order to write out somewhat she had commenced. They granted this request, but Beal and Paulet remained in the antichamber. After a short space she reappeared (leaving in her cabinet what she had written) and said to two of her women:—I pray you, my good friends, do not leave me, but remain by me in the hour of my death. Then going forth to her chamber, she found there Beal and Paulet, and said to them:—Is the time arrived for me to die? Tell me, for I am entirely prepared thereto, with as much patience as it has pleased God to afford me. Yet I beg you to tell and acquaint the Queen of England, my sister, that she and her council have passed upon me the most unjust sentence that ever was pronounced in this kingdom, nay, in all Christendom, without any proof, assured form, or order of justice whatever. I am moreover convinced, that God's judgments will so nearly and closely encompass her, that her conscience through her life, and God after her death, will accuse her, on account of the inno-

cence with which I am about to render my spirit into his hands.

She hereupon prayed that her two ladies and her maitre d'hôtel might be allowed to approach her, who took her under the arm and led her down into a great hall hung with black, and fitted up for the occasion, which hall was full of people come to see the piteous spectacle. In the middle was an elevation of some five or six steps, which Mary mounted with the support of these ladies and her servant. The people, who were attentive in every thing to remark her gestures and countenance, and well to retain all the words she might utter, cast their eyes upon this poor princess, in whose countenance appeared so much beauty, that every one was astonished. She knelt down, folded her hands, lifted her eyes to heaven, with as much calmness as though she were not on the verge of existence, and uttered, during a deep silence, the following prayer:—

My God, my Father, my Creator, and thou his only son Jesus Christ, my Lord and Redeemer, who are the hope of all who live and die in you. As you have ordered it, that my soul should be separated from this mortal body, I pray you, according to your mercy and goodness, not to leave it in this last moment: but to cover it with your holy grace, and to pardon me the crimes and failings of which I have

been guilty against your holy commands. And although through your grace I have been born a Queen, consecrated and anointed in your church, I yet always held and considered that this greatness excuses me not my failings towards you, but that like all mortals I am subject to your sincere judgments, more certain than those which spring in the heads or hearts of inconstant men, and which are often, of their own motion, forgotten and lost sight of, as is shown by the instance of the misfortune which their mere ambition and envy have wrought me before the Queen of England, even to the bloody death which they have long since premeditated and sworn against me. Not wishing to conceal from myself, my God, but freely to say and confess that I have often strayed from the straight path of thy ordinances, which, and the faults I may have committed, of what nature soever, I pray thee humbly, my God, to remit, as I, with good heart, pardon all those who have offended me, and condemned me by their unjust sentence to this cruel death. Suffer me lastly, my God, in the presence of these witnesses, before all England, nay, all Christendom, to assert for my justification, that I never in any manner took part in the conspiracies against the life of the Queen of England, or gave counsel or consent towards them. I have certainly, with the aid of my friends, confederates, and Catho-

lics of this kingdom, and elsewhere, sought means the most gentle and honourable, fit for my quality, I could devise, to escape and issue from her miserable prisons, and obtain some liberty, yet so as not to infringe on the laws of this state or your heavenly commands, and if I had any other intention in this particular, I beseech that my soul may be perpetually deprived of the participation in your mercy and grace, and of the fruit which it hopes and expects from the death and passion of your dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ: and as one innocent of all these impostures, I submit all my other faults and offences to your holy and divine justice, by the invocation which I make to the glorious Virgin Mary, and to all the saints, angels, and the blessed who are in Paradise, that it may please them to intercede for me, towards God, that I may be able to obtain and reign perpetually with them in celestial glory.

When the Queen had finished this prayer she drew from under her mantle a white cloth, and said to one of her women, take this cloth and bind my eyes; do not, I pray you, quit my body in my extremity, while I am thinking of my soul. After her eyes had been bound, a Protestant clergyman drew near her, and the executioner dressed in black velvet, and the former began to counsel her, saying: —Madam, you must think no more on the things of

this world, but on God alone. The Queen quickly asked one of her women:—Is not that a minister who speaks to me? conceal it not from me? The woman answered:—Yes, Madam. She then said:—Ah, my God, I remember your words, in the hour of our death we shall be tempted and assailed by the enemies of our soul; and quoting the words of David, in the vith and xxxvith psalms, she said, “Depart from me ye workers of iniquity, for God has heard the voice of my complaint and my prayer. Leave me not, oh God, remove thyself not from me, come to my help, thou who art the author of my salvation.” All present wondered at the great beauty and firmness of the poor princess. The executioner now approached to discharge his task, which he did, after the fashion of this country, quickly enough; he then replaced the head near the body, which was forthwith covered by the ladies aforementioned with black cloth which was in readiness, and they were permitted to carry it off and bestow it in the chamber where the Queen had used to sleep.

The greater part of those who had listened to the declarations of Mary at her death, accounted her not guilty, and it is thought that if the execution had been done in public, there would have been very considerable tumult, and that the Queen

would have been succoured and delivered from this unjust judgment*.

As soon as the tidings of Mary's death reached London, all the bells were rung for twenty-four hours, and bonfires lighted in all the streets and public places.

20. Chateauneuf to Henry III., April 1585 †. Walsingham made me many excuses upon the death of the Queen of Scotland, and threw all the blame upon Davison, who, however, had done nothing but what an upright man, a faithful servant of his Queen, and a friend of his country, was obliged to do. It is however true, that he passed beyond the command of the Queen, but only after the opinion of the council. Nay, Walsingham said to me he had procured the passing of that sentence under the great seal by the chancellor, under the false pretence that it was a commission for Ireland, so that the chancellor applied the seal without having read the contents. The Queen was, as he said, moreover so incensed against all the members of the council, that she would see none of them, (not even Leicester, Burleigh, and Hatton,)

* For the maintenance of tranquillity upwards of 2000 cavalry were stationed in the neighbourhood. Ellis, III. 13.

† *Memoires et traités concernant l'Angleterre*. Vol. 52. Bibl. Roy. MSS. Chambre du Levant.

because they had given credence to the mere assertion of Davison. That any one should thus act without her knowledge, she accounted as setting her under tutelage.

Inasmuch, meanwhile, as this execution was necessary for the welfare of Elizabeth and her kingdom, they considered it very strange, that the King of France should be so offended at it.

21. Henry III. to Chateauneuf, May 1587*. I have received your report, in which you write to me that Elizabeth is much incensed against those who signed the sentence of death of Mary, has forbid them her presence, and has ordered them, and particularly Davison, upon whom all the blame falls, to be brought to public trial. Their chastisement has not, however, been so severe that it should make any change in what we have understood of the death and execution of the Queen of Scotland.

22. Henry III. to his ambassador Comblizy in Scotland, 1587†. Among all the sad and horrible reports which have ever reached his majesty, none was ever more bitter and painful to his heart than that of the unjust and lamentable death of the Queen of Scotland. His majesty has found himself so much the more injured, in that no regard was

* Pinart dépeches, No. 8808. Bibl. Roy.

† Ditto.

paid to the opposite representations of his ambassadors.

23. Chateauneuf to Henry III., August 27, 1587*. Sire! Queen Elizabeth has on the 11th of this month, caused the obsequies of the Queen Mary to be celebrated at Peterborough, and her body to be buried in the cathedral church, on the right of the choir opposite Queen Catherine of Arragon. Her secretaries, Nau and Curl, have been set at liberty, and what they before possessed has been given back to them, they having previously signed in full council a declaration that their evidence was true, given without violence, compulsion, or hope of reward.

24. Chateauneuf to Henry III., May 13, 1587†. It was not my wish to say anything on the subject of the Queen of Scotland, but the Queen Elizabeth seized me by the hand, led me to a corner of the room, and said:—"Since I saw you last the greatest vexation and the greatest misfortune of my whole life has befallen me, namely, the death of my cousin." She swore by God and with many oaths, that she was innocent thereof. True the order was signed by her, but only to appease her subjects, and on similar grounds she had returned a negative answer to the

* Bibl. Roy. 9513. Letters origin. d'Etat. iii. 443.

† Memoires, actes, et traités concernant l'Angleterre, Vol. 52. Chambre du Levant.

intercession of the French and Scotch ambassadors. In truth, however, she continued:—"I never entertained the design of causing her to be executed. Only in case a foreign force should have landed in England, or a great insurrection broken out for Mary, in such case I admit, I would, perhaps, have ordered her death, but never in any other manner. My councillors, among others four who are here present, have played me a trick, in regard of which I cannot appease myself. As true as God lives, had they not served me so long, had they not acted in the conviction that what they did was directed towards the good of their country and their Queen, I would have caused them to lose their heads. Do not believe that I am wicked enough to wish to throw the blame upon a small secretary, if the fact were not so, but this death will for many reasons oppress my heart through my whole life."

25. Ompson, English ambassador in Paris to the Duke Henry of Guise, May, 1588*. They have in the residence of the Duke of Mayenne spoken aloud in an audacious and misbecoming manner of my Queen, whose honour has never been called in question among honest and virtuous men, and which I am here to defend with word and blade. I tell them,

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 33.

they have shamefully lied, and will ever lie, if they impeach the honour of that Princess, who is the most excellent one upon earth, and least of all should be judged by a traitor, and one faithless to his king and country as you are. For this I challenge you at what weapons you will, on foot or horseback. Nor should ye imagine that I am not a fit antagonist, for I am of an English-race, as great and noble as your own. Name your place and day, when and where I can repeat my complaint and accusation. If you have but a little courage, you should not put up with this, and if you will bear it, I will every where proclaim that you are the most cowardly slanderer and the greatest poltroon in France. I wait your answer.

26. Ompson to Duke Henry of Guise, May 31, 1588:—Monsieur de Guise! You have already received two challenges, as however you choose to play the part of the deaf and dumb, I send herewith the third, and if I receive no answer thereto I will make it all public.

LETTER LIX.

Elizabeth, France, and Spain.—Elizabeth to Henry III. and Henry IV.—Earl of Essex.

ELIZABETH was, during the whole time of her government, in a dangerous position, as opposed to the two great powers of Europe, France and Spain. Both hated her on account of her religion, and if Philip was in addition furious with her on account of her support of the Netherlanders, the party of the Guises saw in her a personal enemy. Those powers shunned, nevertheless, an open rupture, and on many occasions when there was no lack of ground for war on both sides, they yet persisted in maintaining peace.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew estranged Elizabeth from the court of France. She shed on the news of it bitter tears, and said she would give 300,000 crowns that this calamity should not have happened*. It is true that later, Henry III. complained of her

* Fenelon Ambassade, MSS. de St. Germain, Vol. 739.

supporting Henry IV.; but received for answer that Elizabeth wished nothing so much as the restoration of peace in France.

April 9, 1588, (thus shortly before the days of the barricades,) she wrote Henry an autograph letter of the following tenor*:—I thank you that you have never undertaken anything against me and my kingdom. If I supported Henry of Navarre, I did so in the conviction that his ruin would be your own. I have also ever counselled him to submit himself to you, but not alter his religion against his conscience. The party of the Ligue is already too mighty and favoured; it has already shorn you of the honours due to you, and no one is in condition to make head against it. The King of Navarre has no thought of undertaking anything against you, and no Protestant would support him in so detestable a proceeding. If you permit the Huguenots to live in freedom and security, you will find in them friends, and therewith the support of all Protestant princes.

When Henry III., instead of following her advice, connected himself with the Ligue†, Elizabeth asserted that out of this would arise a still greater war, but that God would, as hitherto, not withdraw from her his assistance.

* Pinart, Vol. 8808.

† Letter of August 7, 1585.

On another occasion at the time of this great danger, she said to the French Ambassador, Chateaufort* :—I will not publish what means I possess within the Netherlands ; I will by God hinder the King of Spain and these Guises from making a mockery of me, poor old woman that I am, who have, indeed, the frame of a woman, but the heart of a man.

With Henry IV. she was not always content. I will select with reference to this one of her letters, difficult to translate. She writes† :—My very dear brother ;—The learned have disputed whether the sense of sight or that of hearing deserved the preference. Were I present at the controversy, and were the examples extant which now present themselves, I would declare myself in favour of the sight. I should then, indeed, have seen the commissaries who saluted you, but should not have heard the evil reports by which you are exposed to the danger of a battle.

If God in his mercy give you the victory, this, (I swear to you,) is more than your nonchalance deserves. How could you be so ill advised as to

* Relations d'Angleterre. Vol. 52, Lettre du 13th Mai, 1587.

† Undated. MSS. de Henri Egerton. Vol. xx. Lettre. E 1.

believe that the best linguist could have devised any thing more profitable for himself than gain of time, upon which all your welfare depends, but which takes from you all for which you strive. You are too slow to do any good to yourself, you love rather to venture than to finish. I had never dared thus to write to you, if I did not see therein a remedy against anger. Your Ambassador, however, trusts too much to my power of subduing your passions, and in this hope he has begged me without delay to express my displeasure at the all too great patience which you exhibit towards your enemies. I hope some will be left over for me, your friend. If my age did not reckon upon pardon for my audacity, I would not have made so many words; but those of my sex prattle more than the wise. Excuse my errors and follow my counsels, proceeding from an heart which never ceases to pray God that he may lead you by the hand, on all occasions, to victory.

Upon the Earl of Essex I have found nothing particularly new, but the following relations are not uninteresting*. Namely,—first, the instruction of Elizabeth upon the mode and fashion in which her

* Bibl. Cotton. Caligula, E. viii.

Ambassador in France should conduct himself towards Essex:—July 24, 1591. You are not to forget what special service you would do us in keeping your attention upon the dealings of our cousin and general lieutenant the Earl of Essex, and impart to him, from time to time, what is said of his actions in praise or blame. Give him good council how he may improve himself, by doing which you will fulfil the duty of a true servant and ambassador. By this course you will give him ground to love you, although young noblemen are wont at their outset not to take good advice in good part. We command you, however, without adverting to such considerations, to deal openly and honourably with the Earl.

Another time Essex told the French minister, Beauvoir La Nocle, in London*:—I have thrice solicited the Queen, for the delivery of the commission to the Prince of Dombes, but thrice she has refused it me, although I have been on my knees to her for full two hours. She said at last:—it was not befitting that she should send to the Prince of Dombes a more distinguished envoy than to the King of France.

* Beauvoir's letter to Henry IV. of January 15, 1591. Ashridge collect. MSS. F. Egerton. Vol. xvi. Lettre, B. 1.

Monsieur de Bouillon, who went to England as French Ambassador in 1596, says of Essex* :—He is a young gentleman of excellent spirit and much courage. Inasmuch, however, as he fails in sedulous observance towards the Queen, and causes her some dissatisfaction by reason of certain particular affections†, it is thought that he has somewhat fallen into disgrace, and that his present sea expedition is to be considered as an honourable order of absence. The nature of the Queen, however, being such that she does not lightly abandon those she loves, and as the young Earl also enjoys great consideration in the country, it is thought he will regain his position, or else utterly ruin himself.

The latter result took place, and the French Ambassador, Boissise, describes, how Essex and Cecil contended for the first place in the favour of Elizabeth‡. He then proceeds :—The Earl, on account of his return from Ireland contrary to the Queen's command, lost her favour, lived in his own house, and would have been very fortunate had he allowed her anger to serve him for instruction. She learnt

* *Negociations de Bouillon et Sancy*, MSS. de Brienne, No. 37.

† *Affections particulières*.

‡ MSS. de St. Germain, Vol. DCCXL. Letter of March 6, 1601.

that he was busied in some intrigues, and invited him on the 17th February, 1601, to a sitting of the Privy Council. He, however, excused himself, having received information that they intended to arrest him. The following day being the morning of Sunday, the keeper of the great seal with three other councillors went to him and summoned him in the name of the King to come to her, or for the purpose of redress to discover the grounds of his discontent. He replied:—I have discovered that the Lords Cobham and Raleigh wish to kill me, and I cannot without danger come to the court, where my enemies enjoy the greatest favour.—Those Lords could not be convinced of this, and wished to return to the court, but they were hindered from doing so, and complained, that violence had been done them, and that they had been watched as prisoners. They were, however, released, after the Earl had left his house about nine o'clock. For as he did not consider himself safe at home, he betook himself with twenty or thirty of his friends, (who however, had no other arms than their swords,) to the Mayor, and begged him to take them under his protection. This was, however, refused by the Mayor, and also by the sheriff. In the mean time those who attended him told the people, Cobham and Raleigh had wished to kill him; and some

ffered to die for him, without, however, proceeding further or taking up arms. So soon as intelligence of this reached the court, Burleigh (Cecil's brother) received orders to proclaim, in the Queen's name, Essex and his associates as traitors, in the city. This was done in the first place before the residence of the Earl, and then in other parts of the city. When Essex heard this proclamation, he went forwards to attack Burleigh, but (some say) the latter did not wait for him. Hereupon, seeing that no one stirred in his favour, he would fain return to his house in the suburb, but found the door beset, and as he endeavoured nevertheless to enter by force, some shots were fired and persons wounded. He now betook himself to the river, and reached his residence by water, where he was besieged and compelled to surrender himself, with the Earl of Rutland, his son-in-law, and the Earl of Southampton, who had espoused one of his relations.

LETTER LX.

Bouillon upon Elizabeth and England.—Despatches of the Ambassador, Count Beaumont.—Nevers, Essex, Biron, Jesuits.—Elizabeth.—Earl of Clancarty.—Ireland.—Spanish war.—Sickness and death of Elizabeth.

MONSIEUR de Bouillon, ambassador to England, in his despatches of the year 1596, gives a general notice of the country and its Queen, Elizabeth *. He relates, that the nobility are ddeeply in debt, especially through extravagance in dress and servants. Merchants purchase the possessions of the nobles, persons of rank make humble marriages, and the lower classes of the people are comparatively very rich, inasmuch as they live well indeed, but yet with economy, and are in no wise oppressed with many taxes. The towns increase through commerce, &c.

The Government (Bouillon proceeds) is entirely

* Bibl. de Brienne, No. 37. fol.

in the hands of the Queen, who has, at the same time, established a wonderful obedience to herself, and is uncommonly loved and honoured by the people. The Parliament has usually had great consideration in the kingdom, but now turns itself whichever way the Queen wills. The prelates are dependent, the barons few in number. Neither dare to displease her, and the people has had such experience of the mildness and convenience of her government, that it grants her every thing at a wish. She possesses much spirit and courage, and is adorned with many great qualities. She speaks Spanish, French, Italian, and Latin, knows something of the sciences and of history, understands accurately the affairs of her dominions, knows those of her neighbours, and judges them with understanding. She is hot and prone to anger with her own people, and claims more than is her sex's due. Although she entertains great and honourable designs, she yet has a great dread of expense, is more sparing than she should be, and instead of giving, chooses that others should give to her. Presents of 50,000 dollars have been made to her, and if she visit any one in the country, her reception is accounted a poor one, if nothing be presented to her on her departure.

She is taxed in the country with the having laid hands on 60,000 dollars, which Drake had deposited

with the Mayor of London, on the ground that he was in her naval service; in like manner that she long kept in confinement several persons under sentence, in order to enjoy, during the time, their revenues and those of their wives.*

Although nearly sixty-three years of age, she yet dresses like a girl. Those whom she has loved have certainly had much power in affairs, but never all. She has always had the praiseworthy prudence to leave much in the hands of able statesmen, and by their consequence to maintain a balance against those who enjoyed her personal favour.

The Earl of Essex is at present most in favour. The high treasurer governs the weightiest affairs. He understands them thoroughly, is rich, and has considerable connections, entertains great designs. but has already a breaking constitution, &c.

The despatches of the Count Harley de Beaumont contain very instructive notices of the last years of Elizabeth and the first of James I. The most important will follow here in their order as to time*.

1. Report of April 21 and May 29, 1602:—Eliza-

* There are several of them in MSS. more or less perfect.
1. One vol. fol. in the Library of St. Germain. 2. Dupuy, in 4to. No. 327, 328. 3. Bibl. Roy. 1424, 1425. 4. Bibl. Roy. 8988—9001. 5. Drienne, No. 38—41, the most complete.

beth gave the Duke of Nevers a banquet at Richmond, and opened, after dinner, the ball with him in a gaillard, which she danced with wonderful agility for her age. Since the Duke of Alençon was here, she has done this honour to no foreign prince. On learning from the ambassador that Henry IV. had suffered from gout, she said:—This complaint is much more suitable to the Pope and the Emperor, who live constantly shut up in great repose, but not to the King of France who loves bodily exercises, the chase, and war.

2. Reports of May 24, June 10 and 18, 1602:—Henry IV. had declared himself obliged to preserve peace with Spain, for that his dominions were so poor, and filled with noxious humours, that they required peace to restore them. Elizabeth told Beaumont, in reference to this war:—Despite of all these threats of Philip III. of Spain I cannot dread either the courage or the ability of a prince who was twelve years in learning his alphabet.

I would fain have gone in person to Ireland; but my council declared my people would never assent to my leaving this kingdom, and reminded me that, during my absence, King James of Scotland might perhaps attempt to occupy my place. All grounds of personal peril I hold for the rest in contempt; so much are my honour and the welfare of

my subjects dear to me. I am also tired of life, for nothing now contents my spirit or gives me any enjoyment*.

These words she accompanied with sighs and other expressions, which indicated great sorrow for the past, by which she gave me well to understand how deeply she lamented Essex. She said to me almost with tears:—"I well foresaw that the impatience of his spirit, and his ambitious conduct, would involve him to his misfortune in evil designs." More than two years earlier, she told him in warning, he would do well to content himself with taking pleasure in displeasing her on all occasions, and in despising her person as insolently as he did, and that he should take good heed of touching her sceptre†. Thus was she compelled to punish him according to the laws of England and not according to her own, the which he had found far too mild and pleasant for him ever to fear that she would do him any displeasure. Her too affectionate and wholesome exhortations, however, were not able to re-

* *Lassée de vivre, n'ayant plus rien qui lui contentât l'esprit, n'y à quoi elle prit plaisir.*

† *Qu'il se contentast de prendre plaisir de lui déplaire à toutes occasions, et de mépriser sa personne insolemment comme il faisait, et qu'il se gardast bien de toucher à son sceptre.*

strain him from hastening to his ruin, and thus was her own passion stifled by one still stronger, although she should look back to the occurrence through life with anguish.

Beaumont replied:—It is a distinguished proof of your good disposition, that you cannot forget what you have once loved. You must, however, the sooner master your sorrow for the earl's death, as not only the security of your life and kingdom rested thereon, but glory inestimable must accrue to you, in that you courageously practised compulsion on yourself,—preferred the welfare of the state to your own inclinations, and knew how to distinguish your own person from the kingdom." As I saw that the subject, as I have often known it, moved her too much, and that she could not leave it, I designedly gave the conversation another turn.

3. Report of June 26, 1602.—With reference to the treason of the Duke of Biron, Elizabeth said:—In such cases there is no middle course, we must discard mercy as too hazardous and seize extreme measures. He who lays hand upon the sceptre of a king grasps a fire-brand, which must destroy him; there is no grace for him. To pardon people of this description, would be to do direct injustice, and to draw upon oneself eternal contempt and unavoidable destruction. I doubt not that the King of

France, unaccustomed to such events, and inclined to forgive and forget injuries, will suffer much before he can resolve to destroy a man whom he so greatly loved and honoured. But too well have I experienced how strong is this disposition of the mind, and I shall feel this sorrow through my life; where, however, the welfare of my dominions is concerned, where I was obliged to give an example, and look to the security of my successors, I was bound not to give way to my own inclination. I have found my advantage therein, and if the King so act, he will, in like manner, lay the foundation of repose, and relieve his soul from suspicion and mistrust, which hinder princes from reigning in freedom and satisfaction.

4. Report of July 14, 1602.—Beaumont declares himself against the Jesuits, and says:—It is not necessary to be a bad subject in order to be a good Christian. Obstinacy, bad disposition, indiscreet zeal for the Catholic religion, have brought that sect in England to destruction. They not merely refused to acknowledge and obey the Queen, but entered into conspiracies of all kinds against her person, and into alliances with enemies of the kingdom, in order to effect her downfall. Thus, instead of earning from her indulgence protection and support, they have provoked the Queen in such fashion, that

she was compelled, on behalf of her own security, to practise severity, and to take from them all liberty.

5. Henry IV. to Beaumont, August 29, 1602 :— I think with respect to the person, counsels, consideration, and power of the King of Spain, as Elizabeth thinks ; and believe an attack would greatly shake and weaken his monarchy. If, on the other side of the question, I reflect upon the power and position of my kingdom, I must at present fear as much as hope from a war. In any case I in no respect detract from the advantages of my position, if I procrastinate, and look on in quiet while others fall to blows.

6. Reports of Beaumont of September 13, October 2, November 1, 3, 20, and December 18, 1602 :— In proportion as Elizabeth is easy to irritate, she is also easy to appease, and to be won by a little. By disposition she seems excessively civil and gracious. No alteration in church or state is to be expected as long as she lives ; for she is not merely loved, but worshipped. It is true that her strength is failing, and she suffers from pains of the stone and flux of blood from the bladder ; yet she is for the present restored to health. A Spanish mathematician has calculated, that she will pass her 75th year. Her eye is still lively, she has spirit, and is attached to life, taking on this account great care of

herself. To this is to be added, a new inclination for the Earl of Clancarty, a handsome, brave, Irish nobleman. This makes her cheerful, full of hope, and good confidence in respect of her age. This inclination is moreover favoured by the whole court with such art that I cannot sufficiently wonder at it.

The affairs of Ireland prosper, so that not a single rebel keeps the field. I believe that this prosperous condition of things proceeds from the favour which that Irish Earl enjoys here. On the other hand, he is very cold by nature and in his love, and has neither understanding nor conduct sufficient to lift himself high, although there is no lack of counsel and support to him. Flatterers of the court, to curry favour, say, that he resembles Essex; on the other hand, the Queen declares, with equal dissimulation, that she cannot love him, inasmuch as he recalls her sorrow for the Earl; and this contest occupies the entire court.

7. Report of March 13, 1603:—The Queen answered to my request for an audience; That I must excuse her for some days, until the mourning for the death of the Countess of Nottingham, for whom she has shed many tears and evinced great affliction.

8. Despatch of March 15, 1603:—The Queen has been unwell these seven or eight days. She has

signed the pardon of the Earl of Tyrone, but under conditions which he, as is said, is not likely to accept.

9. Despatch of March 19, 1603:—Elizabeth's health goes on ill, and nothing but sickness has prevented her from shewing herself, not her grief for the death of the Countess of Nottingham, which she alleged in excuse to me. There is already great uneasiness in the city, and the Lords of the Council have proposed this morning among themselves, if the evil increase, to close and guard the ports of the kingdom. The Queen has in this time not slept, and eats much less than usual. Although she have no fever, she yet suffers from constant restlessness and from such an heat of the stomach and mouth, that she is obliged to cool herself every instant, that the dry and burning phlegm, which frequently torments, may not stifle her. Some think that her disorder arises from her dissatisfaction at what has taken place with Miss Arabella. Others think it proceeds from Irish affairs, because her council has compelled her (in contradiction to her nature and spirit) to accord a pardon to the Earl Tyrone; others again will have it that sorrow for the death of Lord Essex has taken possession of her. It is certain that she has displayed great melancholy in her countenance and in her transaction

of business.—It is, however, a more probable version that the sufferings natural to her age, and the apprehension of approaching death, are the main causes of the whole. For, without reckoning that she endeavours by a regular life and moderation in the movements of her mind with the greatest care to preserve her health, I am convinced, that the causes above mentioned, could not suffice to set body and spirit in such commotion, and that she should be so hotly affected.

10. Report of March 24, 1603:—Three days back, the Queen was given up; she had long lain in a cold sweat and had not spoken. Some time before, she said, I no longer wish to live, and desire to die. Yesterday and the day before she began to find repose, and felt better, after, to her great relief, a small abscess had burst in her throat. She takes no medicine whatever. She has only been in bed two days; she refused positively to take it sooner, out of fear, as some believe, of a prediction that she would die in it! She is moreover said not to be right in her senses. This is, however, not the fact, and she has only had some slight wanderings (reveries) at intervals.

11. Report of March 28, 1603:—The Queen is already quite exhausted, and speaks not a word sometimes for two or three hours together. For

these last two days, she has had her finger almost continually in her mouth, and sits upon cushions without ever rising, or laying herself quite down, her eyes open and fixed upon the ground. Her long vigil and the want of nourishment have exhausted her frame, of itself dried up and weak, and has occasioned heat in the stomach and a burning up of all her juices for these ten or twelve days past.

This morning the Queen's music has gone to her ; I believe she means to die as gaily as she has lived.

12. Report of April 1, 1603 :—The Queen hastens to her end, and is given up by all the physicians.* They have put her into bed almost by force, after she had set upon cushions for ten days, and has rested barely an hour in each day in her clothes. She seemed lately to be better, and called for meat broths, which gave new hopes to all. Soon after this, however, her speech began to fail her ; and since, she has eat nothing and lies still upon her side, without speaking or looking at any one. Yesterday she caused some meditations, among others, those of Monsieur du Plessis * to be read to her. I

* Probably, Mornay Du Plessis, whom she had known as Ambassador from Henry IV. His *Traité de la Vie et de la*

do not believe that in this condition she will make a testament, or name her successor. Many say, that Cecil is the cause of the Queen's death, inasmuch as she was once angry with him. He has certainly connections with James of Scotland and his Queen, who exercises great influence.

13. April 5, 1603:—The 3rd of this month, at three in the morning, the Queen very gently gave up the ghost (*très doucement*). She was already, on the day before, deprived of speech, and reposed for five hours before she died.

Mort published at Geneva in 1575, may, perhaps, have been *the work of this illustrious author, which afforded consolation to the dying moments of Elizabeth. [Tr.]

LETTER LXI.

Characters of James I. and Elizabeth, Englishmen and Scotsmen.—Perversity of James.—His demeanour towards the fair sex.—Cecil.—Discontent.—The Queen Anne.—Cobham's conspiracy.—Gloomy prospects.—James's love of the chase.—Negociations with Spain.—Financial difficulties.—Parliament.—Union of England with Scotland.—The Clergy.—James's love of peace.—Charles I.—Rome.—Religious affairs.—The Netherlands.—Disputation in Oxford.

IN the place of an old and worn out woman, there ascended the throne in the person of James I. a man of 37 years of age, in the vigour of his life, and by many incidents in his fortunes, formed and educated (as there was good ground to hope) for the vocation of a sovereign. Little weaknesses which Elizabeth, conscious of her superiority in other matters, took no pains to hide, afforded to men of superficial understanding, as much ground for scoff and calumny, as James's ostentatious display

of wisdom did for them to represent him as a new Solomon. This illusion, however, lasted scarcely a few months, and the greatest honour which historians now shew this King, is to pass rapidly over his reign, in order to arrive at the more attractive period of the rebellion. That rebellion, however, is as little to be understood without accurate knowledge of the history of James, as the French revolution without a knowledge of the history of Louis XV. For which reason I have given myself special and not unsuccessful pains, to obtain information upon him and his time.

Let us first listen to the judgment of the greatest King of his day, Henry IV., upon James I. In a letter of March 13, 1603, he writes to the Count Beaumont:—He displays such levity and want of thought in all his words and actions, that it is difficult to build upon him. He deals with Rome, Spain, and every power exactly as with me, but, in truth, attaches himself to none; moves in this or that direction on account of this or that expectation suggested to him by some about him, but ascertains neither the foundation nor merits of the subject,—so that, as I foresee, he will let himself be surprised in all things.

The following judgment is taken from a diplo-

report of Monsieur de Villeroi of August 15, 1605. King James is governed by a small number of favourites, generally mere Scottish gentlemen of no great quality, who are always about him, and see and hear whatever passes. He himself is very free in his discourses, which touch upon every occurrence within or without the kingdom. These favourites are for the most part easy to live with, but very extravagant. The Council consists half of Englishmen, half of Scotchmen, although the King in truth has most of them under his thumb, at least with respect to matters which he takes to heart.

The courtiers are divided into two parties: The one is led by the Earl of Mar, a man of affairs, who has more weight at this moment than any one else, English or Scotch. He is favoured by Cecil, Hume, Bruce, Areskyne, and all who are devoted to the pretended reformed religion. At the head of the second party stands the Queen, but she treads more softly and seeks quietly to serve the poor distressed Catholics. Notwithstanding the reconciliation which by the command of the King took place after the coronation between the Earl of Mar and the Queen, we may yet presume, reasoning on the nature

of the female sex, that the offence of Stirling and another old dispute regarding her son: *manet alta mente repostum*.

I return now to the diplomatic reports of Beaumont exclusively.

1. Report of April, 8, 1603. We may conceive that commotion may have been prevented on the occasion of this change of sovereigns, by the profound obedience, which the deceased Queen founded and maintained in such a prudent manner among her subjects; by the example of her justice and moderation, and the peace, of nearly forty-four years duration; by the depression of the impoverished and shackled nobility; by the wealth of the people at large, grown apprehensive of its loss; finally by the weakness and disorder of the Catholics. Time can alone instruct us whether what chance and fear have thus brought to bear, can be continued by counsel and wisdom, and whether the King of Scotland will be as fortunate in preserving his heritage, as he has been in taking possession thereof. For I am of opinion, that as much prudence as good fortune is necessary for managing with this people, and still more for effecting an union between Scotch and English men, and removing jealousy and mistrust from both.

The people of London appear strangely barbarous

and ungrateful to the memory of Elizabeth, in that (after such long standing almost idolatrous worship) they lighted, on the day of her decease, bonfires in honour of her successor.

2. Reports of April 8, 14, and 26, 1603. Elizabeth is reproached with having made no presents or legacies, and greater liberality is looked for in her successor.

The admiral and Cecil tell me, that some days before her death, Elizabeth declared to them in confidence, that she acknowledged no other successor than James, and when her speech had already failed her, the two above-mentioned, in the presence of other councillors, expressed a request that the Queen * would give a sign confirmatory of what she had disclosed to them. She laid her hand upon her head as a sign of the repetition of her expressions*.

Elizabeth might, beyond doubt, have concluded a peace with Spain, had she chosen it. But this spirit is that which we cannot sufficiently admire in her, that (contrary to the wont of all aged sovereigns, who look only to their enjoyments, and seek on such alone to raise their monuments,) she only aspired to found hers on toil, and honour, and victory, and to bury herself under trophies. Ungrateful as her successor and her subjects shew themselves at this mo-

* Cecil and James had reasons for not mentioning this or laying weight upon it.

ment towards her, every one must yet acknowledge that the former owes his elevation, the latter their welfare and preservation, to the Queen.

3. Report of May 1, 1603. As soon as the news of Elizabeth's death reached Madrid*, the Jesuits waited on Philip III., and three or four were despatched to England disguised as soldiers or merchants.

4. Reports of May 2, 7, 12, and 17, 1603. It is said that Cecil is doubtful as to his position, finding the King partly better informed, partly more obstinate than he thought. Cobham calls Cecil no other than a traitor. Raleigh is hated throughout the kingdom. The new Queen is enterprising, and affairs are embroiled. I will not conceal from you (says Beaumont), that I have acquaintances and intelligences enough to enable me to sow and cultivate dissensions, so far as your majesty may instruct me to do so. Not that I advise such a course, or offer myself to conduct it, for I do not approve it, it is neither consonant to reason nor to my inclination†.

The jealousy of the English towards the Scotch increases, and is exasperated to such a degree, that

* This account is taken from the dispatches of Barrault, St. Germain, MSS. Vol. 799.

† According to Henry IVth's letters of August 26, 1603, he refused to profit by these suggestions, or to excite any disturbances.

some flame may well burst forth in consequence. For the latter are hungry, ambitious, and impatient; they wish to profit by the favour of the King, so long as it continues at their disposal, and to fix themselves in the public offices. The English, on the other hand, are the less disposed to endure anything to their detriment, as they are for the most part little edified with the person or mode of dealing of the King, and declare openly enough that they were deceived in the opinion they were led to entertain of him. He takes great pleasure in speaking openly and at table, and to open scholastic disputations on subjects of all descriptions, particularly religious. He also piques himself on great contempt for women: they are obliged to kneel to him on their presentation, he exhorts them openly to virtue, and scoffs with great levity at all men who pay them honour. I know that he has assailed your Majesty in a very unbecoming manner on this score, at table before a full attendance. You may, however, easily conceive that the English ladies do not spare him, but hold him in abhorrence, and tear him to pieces with their tongues, each according to her humour.

The King utters, however, in public, follies of a very different description; for example, that the Pope is anti-Christ; he condemns, in all respects, the

States General of Holland. He has found England as much ruined and torn to pieces by a peace of forty-four years' duration, as though she had been at war for fifty-four!!

The Scots obtain every thing, even the places already given away by Elizabeth, as well as great presents from the domains of the Crown. Many are furious against Ceeil, as having allied himself against them with the Scots, and counselling this tyranny, in order to maintain himself in power by assistance of the latter.

5. Reports of May 24 and 28, 1603. The discontent increases from day to day on various grounds, and spreads itself over all classes. The people are sensible of no alleviation in any quarter, and having been habituated to see Elizabeth in public, to give her applause and receive her thanks, it appears to them strange that this king should despise them and live in so complete retirement. They exclaim aloud, the residence at Theobald's will spoil him. The upper classes are furious against the Scotch; nay, one has suffered the expression to escape him, that they must have Scotch vespers like the Sicilian.

James said to me :—Your Majesty and he were absolute monarchs in their dominions, and in no respect dependent on the counsels or consent of their subjects.—He springs in this manner from one subject

to another, adhering to and thoroughly discussing none.

6. Reports of June 13, and July 10 and 17, 1603. The contempt in which the King is held increases daily, and although some Scotchmen govern him through Cecil, the greater number of them are even less contented than the English, and many are departed in dudgeon. The arrival of the Queen is expected, upon whom all the discontented rest their hopes, and found their projects for stirring the present state of things (remner). The Catholics also look upon her as their last refuge, the King having forgotten his promise, his signature, and all gratitude for their fidelity. Instead of treating them well, he treats them with even greater cruelty than did the deceased Queen.

Although the number of the malcontents increases, I fear little, for there are few persons in England who have courage and design. There is, however, good reason for anxiety, that the King may let himself be dazzled by the offers of the Spaniards, as he is generally inclined to peace, and entertains a superstitious fancy that his conscience does not allow him to support the Dutch. The conduct of his council is no less undecided, presumptuous, neglectful, and senseless.

King James said to me that he drank, like a true

brother, to the prosperity of your Majesty; also, that not for a long time, not for a century, had two kings of their quality been to be found.

7. Report of July 17, 1603.—The Queen shews herself firm enough in her opinion, but (after the fashion of women) opposes the King more in domestic trifles than in great and important affairs. She is not pliant enough to give way to him in one place, in order to win more consideration and influence in another.

Many restless persons, who encouraged her to revenge herself on her enemies, and to obtain great influence in affairs, have found in her neither capacity nor inclination for such an undertaking, whether from weakness, or mistrust arising out of their excessive heat and impatience.

8. Reports of August 13, 16, and 21, 1603. Cobham's conspiracy gives the King uncommon anxiety, but still more labour and vexation to Cecil. I recognize so many seeds of unsoundness in England, so much is brewing in silence, and so many events appear to be inevitable, as to induce me to maintain that for an hundred years to come, this kingdom will hardly misuse its prosperity to any other purpose than its own injury.

The Queen said to me:—"My husband ruins his affairs by excessive kindness and carelessness. He

will never govern in safety, unless he make some concession to the Catholics. I am at heart a Catholic, and have sought, though in vain, to convert my husband."

God grant that the too great simplicity of James, and his small experience in dealings with the world, may not bring some disaster on his friends. For I foresee in what danger he is of committing great errors, and by confusion and neglect drawing great calamities, upon his government, such as he will hardly be in condition to avoid and contend against. Thus I am convinced that the Scots now hate the English more than ever. James gave the ambassadors of Denmark and Brunswick a banquet, at which he took charge of the honours of his house. The good King drank, namely, before all present, and after the innocence of the earlier ages, to such purpose, that he fell on the table, after having sat at it for five hours.

The Queen complains that she obtains no more money; I suggest to Your Majesty, in confidence, to supply her in secret*.

All consideration, and the burthen of all employments, rests on the shoulders of Cecil; but this bur-

* Henry found this too dangerous. Letter of September 2, 1603.

then, and the jealousy which attends it, both increase to such a degree, that I in fact fear he will no longer be able to avoid sinking under it. A few days back some one said to him, he must find himself much relieved under this reign, in that he was no longer compelled to address his sovereign kneeling, as in the time of the deceased Queen. He replied, however, Would to God that I yet spoke of my knees. Many wise persons are struck with this expression, as indicating either that Cecil does not trust his fortune, or that he fears some general calamity of the kingdom at large, which I myself (to speak freely), for reasons only too numerous, hold to be unavoidable.

9. Report of September 12, 1603. James is so passionately addicted to the chase, that he for the sake of it postpones all business, to great scandal *. I accompany him sometimes for several days, and am determined to become a good sportsman, or rather to pass myself off for such. For this is the only means to obtain converse with him, and to win his favour and some influence with him.

* Henry IV. sent to him Mons. de Vitry, a perfect master of the science of the chase, to insinuate himself into James's favour.

He was yesterday a little disturbed by the populace, which ran together from all sides to see him. He fell into such anger upon this, that I was quite unable to appease him; he cursed every one he met, and swore that if they would not let him follow the chase at his pleasure, he would leave England. Words of passion which meant no harm, but calculated to draw upon him great contempt and extinguishable hate from the people.

10. Reports of October 10 and 16, and December 18, 1603. There is a Spanish ambassador arrived who seeks to corrupt many persons. The Spaniards are doubtless desirous of peace, but the ambassador will soon discover the wants of this state, and the King will then, in spite of all assurances, recede from his demands. In point of fact, he wants the means of conducting the war, and the English court was never so poor in money. London has refused him a loan of 200,000 dollars, the residue of the last subsidies is consumed, and he now borrows in order to keep up his court.

They had appointed the Spanish minister a seat to the left of the Queen; he transferred himself to her right, and took his seat among the ladies, who were as much astonished as offended. The ambassador makes himself ridiculous and odious by his pretensions.

11. Reports of February 21, ^{*} March 4, April 9, 1604. It is very difficult to judge of the present state of public affairs; most occurrences fall out ill, rather from ignorance and want of understanding, than bad intention.

Between the King and the Parliament, unpleasant controversies have already arisen. He is said to be in such rage, that he neither eats nor sleeps, and is become aware that he has been ill counselled. I cannot, however, in consideration of the weakness of his nature, believe that he has such a feeling, which might bring great prejudice to those who rule him. He has issued an ordinance, according to which he confers on seven Englishmen, and a like number of Scotch, the right of entering his chamber, hoping thereby to amalgamate them together and accustom them to order. They are, however, only become more violent, at which the whole court is scandalized.

The Union of England and Scotland finds opposition on both sides. They quarrel enough of themselves, without its requiring much art to keep them in the heat of their differences. It is not likely that James will go to Scotland in person to accomplish the measure of the Union; for without reckoning that the discontent increases both in Parliament and the country, he knows and fears the firm and ob-

stinate nature of the Scottish nobility, and the impudence of the puritanical preachers, and will hardly venture his person among them, or expose himself to the danger of having to make war upon them for some overt act of disobedience.

12. Henry IV. and Villeroi to Beaumont. March 4 and 11, 1604. I must wish that the Union of England and Scotland may not turn to the prejudice of the old connexion with France. Yet this is too ticklish an affair for me to undertake to prevent it.

The affairs of Spain are conducted with the usual confusion and want of prudence. The court is full of discontent and vexation respecting the Duke of Lerma, who, however, possesses more power and influence than ever.

13. Report of Beaumont's, of May 13 and 26, 1604. The King says he is determined to conclude with Spain nothing but an honourable, advantageous, and secure peace. It is levity and the extraordinary weakness, of which one becomes aware in all transactions, as also the unmeasured love of peace which he displays in every thing, prevent me, however, from trusting to the firmness of his resolution. In addition to this, the Queen (although she has no part in public business) displays, with as little foresight as wisdom, her preference for the

Spaniards. Cecil only is of opinion that they must be opposed with constancy.

James has written to the lower house a letter full of reproaches, and in a style which I submit privately to the judgement of your Majesty, only to remark, that this mode of proceeding is very unusual and very prejudicial to the Prince. The letter has also been very ill taken; great complaints have been raised of it, and very bitter and hostile judgements fallen upon it. The King, therefore, determined to tell the lower house, in a second letter, that he had not intended to offend them, but only to gain them over to reason. They, however, are by no means satisfied; and if they were more angry and spoke more bitterly of the first letter, they scoff more at the second.

King James, in spite of all this, lives in the conviction that he is much wiser than all his councilors; and is able, in spite of all complications, to remain neuter, and enjoy peace and repose. I, on the other hand, contemplate the approach of much misfortune and confusion; and can assure your Majesty, that you have rather reason to reflect on and compassionate his perversity and its ruinous results, than to fear his power or the romantic plans of the Queen against France. Scotland, moreover, by reason of the perverse manner in which they have

attempted to push forward her union with England, is entirely inclined to the French, and the spirit of the English is buried in the grave of Elizabeth.

14. Reports of June 7 and 14, 1604. The Queen of England is so light-minded and blind to consequences, that she says aloud, she hopes her son will one day overrun France as well as his ancestor Henry V. She asserts, moreover, in order to justify this prediction, that he is like that king.

The English are now corrupted and fallen away, little stedfast in their religion, not devoted to their king either in love or obedience. By these reasons, the Spaniards have already by arts, flatteries, and money, won many, and will win more, so soon as peace shall be concluded and the commerce free. On the other hand, it may be maintained that, the more the Spaniards come together with the English, the more they will be hated.

The good Elizabeth! whose memory one cannot sufficiently honour! Her successor is not in condition to encourage disputes among his neighbours, or to derive advantage from them; he has enough to do with the daily increasing dissensions of his court. Consider, for pity's sake, what must be the state and condition of a prince, whom the preachers publicly from the pulpit assail, whom the comedians

of the metropolis bring upon the stage, whose wife attends these representations in order to enjoy the laugh against her husband, whom the parliament braves and despises, and who is universally hated by the whole people.

The day before yesterday (June 12,) he made a speech full of anger in the lower house. They listened to him and were silent; soon after, however, they justified themselves in writing against all his imputations, and declared, that those Lords who had accused the Commons to the King, had in great part impelled the latter to the measures which displeased the King. Thus is he misguided and betrayed by the one party, and insulted and despised by the other.

15. Henry IV. to Beaumont. June 21, 1604. I am of opinion the King of England must be suffered to conclude peace according to his opinion and inclination; without disturbing or endeavouring to sway him, whether through services or counter representations.

16. Report of Beaumont. July 8, 1604. The King is for ever following the chase in order to divert his spirit, saddened and discomposed by innumerable secret vexations, caused him by the misconduct of the Queen; as also to rid himself of a

portion of the wrath which he entertains against the lower house and the clergy.

A puritanical priest compared him to Jeroboam, and told him to his face, he had too little love and care for his subjects, to whom he owed so much. That instead of ruling with wisdom and dignity he let himself be governed by a few, who by their intrigues seduced him to evil resolutions and abused his kindness. For proof, this preacher cited an endless list of individual traits relating to church and state, which irritated the King to the utmost, so that he caused the preacher to be arrested, and declared he had never in Scotland heard so scandalous a preacher, or had greater reason for indignation against any one.

Cecil, through the power and adroitness of his mind, keeps to himself the rudder of the state, and might be able to sail in every direction, but his courage falls short of his capacity and his influence.

17. Report of October 22, 1604. So long as James lives, he will on no provocation commence a war, but will endeavour to maintain peace, even by bad, foolish, and disgraceful means. He hates war from habit, principle, and disposition, and will (to use his own words) avoid it like his own damnation. For he was born and bred up with a base and weak

heart, and imagines (after the manner of princes who devote themselves to religion, the sciences, and sloth,) that he can never be forced into a war against his will, by duty or conscience, or forcible and legitimate reasons. To this is to be added, that he feels himself, by reason of his weakness, neglect, and inexperience, not competent to public affairs, and keeps himself away from them. Thus he now believes that during peace he may be able with less disgrace to throw the weight upon others, and conceal his own errors more easily, than in war, and so devote himself in all liberty according to his natural bent, to repose and pleasures.

So far the King; but the Queen endeavours (in order to lay a better foundation for her designs) hourly to corrupt the spirit and disposition of the Prince Henry of Wales, by flattering his little passions, by diverting him from his lessons and exercises, and (to the vexation of his father) representing the sciences to him as unworthy of a great commander and conqueror. She seeks, moreover, to excite his youthful soul in favour of Spain, by recommending to him a marriage with the Infanta. She has also carried the point with the King of having the Prince in future resident in her court, and said to me with as much impudence as imprudence: "It is time that I should have possession of the Prince

and gain his affection, for the King drinks so much, and conducts himself so ill in every respect, that I expect an early and evil result."—I know that she grounds herself in this not only on the King's bad way of life, but also on this: that, according to her expressions, the men of the house of Lennox have generally in consequence of excessive drinking died in their fortieth year, or become quite imbecile. Finally, she has with an impious and detestable curiosity consulted astrologers, and believed their predictions. The King in the meantime growing in fact daily more weak and contemptible, the consideration of the Queen increases in proportion.

In addition to the distress and domestic dissension, which the King derives from the contempt and aversion of the Queen, he is perplexed by fear and jealousy respecting the alteration which is observable in the Prince of Wales, and produced by his mother. On the other side, the King's reputation suffers much by base and feeble actions, which are remarked in his private conduct and life.

He has by confused and injudicious expense got himself into such necessity, that he knows not where to find the means of supporting his state. A proposal for a loan, on the part of the richest persons in the country has been very ill received, and by many peremptorily refused.

18. November 22, December 21 and 27, 1604. The Queen has delivered to her husband the letter of the Spanish ambassador, with which he sent to her a letter of the Pope upon the reconciliation of England with the Church of Rome. She seems to me to think more on her ballets than on her honour and her friends. She is also much provoked with her brother the Duke of Holstein, inasmuch as he (instructed thereto by her mother and her husband) has spoken to her too freely on the subject of her misconduct.

The King is so disgusted with the importunity, the dissatisfaction, the pasquinades to which he has been subjected since his return to this city, that he intends to leave it—like sick persons, who imagine that they are to be relieved from their ailments by a change of air.

19. January 12, and February 3, 1605. The Catholics are in despair at their hard treatment, and begin to plot. The Puritans, on the other hand, are furious, and speak very irreverently of the King's person, on account of which he, as I know, is in great anxiety. Yet he remains for the sake of the chase in Huntingdon, and is still more afraid of certain predictions and omens regarding his fate and that of the kingdom.

20. The minister Villeroi to Beaumont. January

16, 1605. We cannot sufficiently wonder that the Pope should have made choice of the Spanish ambassador to sound the Queen and induce her to Catholicism, without imparting to us a word of the matter. All accounts from Rome sing (chantent) of nothing but the confidence of the Pope in the King, in respect to English affairs; but the court of Rome is as deceitful as others, and one must be very cunning and sly, in order to escape being allured and made prize of.

21. February 3 and 21, April 11, and May 6, 1605. The Spanish ambassador has delivered no letter of the Pope to the Queen, but only written to her that he had a commission to that purpose.

Clement VIII. has further begged the King, if he will not himself become Catholic, at least to allow his eldest son to be educated in that faith. James excused himself in a letter, as holding the religion in which he was educated for the best; yet, professing himself not so opinionated but that he might let himself be instructed, on sufficient proofs, to which purpose his Holiness might call a free assembly of the church, which he would attend in person, or by deputies.

Meanwhile he causes his severe law against the Puritans to be brought to bear, and because these, in their complaint of it, maintain that he is a Ca-

tholic in his opinion, he proceeds therewith to adopt a new measure of severity against the Catholics, and to exact the old contributions from them. How does this accord with the mission of Lindsay to Rome? who, however, has placed him there also in a disagreeable predicament. Every where disorder, contradiction, hypocrisy, imprudence, weakness, want of knowledge, &c.

The King's hypocrisy is prodigious. He believes himself to be better versed in theology than Paul or Augustine, and will seriously neither change his religion, nor relieve the Catholics from oppression.

Several Englishmen believe that if the Prince of Wales marry the Infanta, she will receive the Netherlands as a portion. Thus are they enticed.

22. Henry IV. to Beaumont. May 27, and July 19, 1605. I wish King James to know, that if fear of the arms of Spain were all that restrained me from a more explicit declaration in favour of the Netherlands, I would soon come to a decision and take the jump. But I am restrained rather by my respect for the justice which I owe my other neighbours, and which is ever all powerful with me. For I am more jealous of my reputation, and the welfare and friendship of my good allies, than greedy to extend my dominion at the cost of others, which is plainly evinced by my conduct. For I am too well

acquainted with the present situation of Spain and Christendom, not to know, with what advantage I might avail myself of present circumstances, and commence war.

The Catholics are now worse treated in England than in the time of Elizabeth. They lay the blame of this on Cecil, not because he is a friend of the Puritans, but because he imagines that this policy is serviceable to his king and country. I wish that Cecil may moderate himself; yet conduct yourself so that the King and his council may conceive no suspicion against me. For the English are naturally jealous, and misuse their neighbours under the pretexts of piety and friendship, and conduct themselves throughout with so much hypocrisy and dissimulation, that it is difficult to secure oneself against their cunning. The friendship of Spain seems more dangerous than her arms; and they have no conscience about engaging themselves with any one. If they are detected, they are more angry at their failure than ashamed of the transaction. If one shew them mildness and attention, they practice double cunning, and endeavour still better to hide and carry on their projects.

2. July 30, 1606. King Christian IV. of Denmark is arrived here. His fleet is handsome, and the Admiral's ship of 1500 tons is gilded and covered

with flags. There belong to his suite, among others, 100 body guards, dressed in blue velvet and silver, twelve trumpeters, twelve pages, the sailors and soldiers dressed in like manner, but in cloth. The King of England entertains them all free of expense. They pass nearly the whole Sunday in church.

4. August 12, 22, and 28, 1606.—The King of Denmark begins to tire, and wishes to depart sooner than he intended. They have disgusted him with the chase. There will be no further tournament, as the knights of the flaming pillar have resolved to leave poor Merlin in repose, and to save the money which the discovery of his great secrets would have cost them. I therefore fear that it will be with this coming together of the two Kings, as with all similar ones, the parting will be less cordial than the meeting. The Danes appear coarse and vulgar to the English, and are despised by them, the English pass with the Danes for singularly proud.

Yesterday (August 21) the King of Denmark finally took leave of King James. He leaves behind him in this court a great reputation, especially that of a liberal prince.

He frequently made sport of the English Admiral (Nottingham), an old man with a young wife. On the day of his departure he was holding a watch in his hand, and the Queen and that Admiral approached

and asked him what time it was. King Christian, upon this question, made the sign of horns several times with two fingers, to shew that it was two o'clock, but laughed at the same time with the Queen in such manner that the Admiral felt himself singularly offended. On his return home, he commanded his wife to indite a letter to St. Clair, a confidential servant of the King (of Denmark), in which she told him, he was but a petty King, and she as virtuous a woman as either his mother, or his wife, or his sister, and that the child with which she was pregnant (King Christian and the Queen had said something respecting it,) belonged to her husband, so as none of those the Queen had borne belonged to the King. St. Clair shewed this letter to his master, who was fain to return then and there on the instant to revenge himself on the Admiral. His councillors, however, restraining him from this, he sent the letter to the Queen, and begged her, with her husband, to procure him satisfaction. The Queen sent immediately for the poor lady, uttered to her a thousand coarse expressions, treated her like a bastard, (she is grand-daughter to a bastard in Scotland,) drove her from court, and struck her off the list of her establishment.

5. Villeroi to La Boderie. Sept. 9, 1606. The King, Henry IV., has taken delight in the story of

the Admiral and his wife, as will be the case with others like him.

6. August and Sept. 1, 1606. The King bestows no time on business, and whatever consideration his councillors may enjoy they do not choose to decide alone on weighty questions.

Scarcely did he see himself rid of the King of Denmark, when he began to speak of settling great hunting parties, upon which Salisbury, in the name of the Council, went to him and begged he would delay his departure till the end of the week. But notwithstanding that Salisbury, on his knees, made the most pressing representations to him, James remained immovable, and fell into such a passion as to cry out:—"they would be the death of him, they had better send him back to Scotland, &c."

The King has received an anonymous letter, in which he is told that he ought to think on the good government of his people, and not be for ever running after wild animals. If he did not use moderation in this, they would poison all his hounds. He would do well to take example from the King of Denmark, and devote himself to really king-like employments; he would otherwise lose all affection and respect on the part of his people, and draw upon himself every execration which could be pro-

nounced upon a bad King for himself and his posterity.

7. October 31, and December 18, 1606. The King is still in constant anger against heaven, because it does not rain, and therefore — his dogs' noses are dull !

A placard has been seen in London in which the King is threatened with death on account of his hard usage of the Catholics, and is roughly handled on account of the miserable conduct of his government. All this causes him the more anxiety, as up to this moment he has passed in his own opinion for one of the most learned and wisest of princes, and now is astonished that a contrary opinion is entertained of him. He is also much attached to life, and in recollection of events gone by, is fearful of other attempts.

8. January 11, 1607, and January 1, 1608. The King is in such want of money as is scarcely to be accounted for in such a time of peace. As the Lord Treasurer was passing this day to his house, many of the King's household detained him, and would not let him proceed till he promised to disburse them some money. The tradesmen of the Prince of Wales likewise postponed all delivery of goods until he pressed the Treasurer hard to satisfy them.

I feel as if the times of Henry III. were before my eyes. The people is overburthened, and no one is paid—but there are favourites here—as then, &c.

The Queen is preparing a ball, which is to cost 80,000 dollars. Every one is furious at it, and a wag said: In France a Princee has been born, in Spain another, and for both no such expence has been made, as here on account of one daughter!

The King also gives away great revenues without the knowledge of his minister.

A preacher spoke in the principal church of London with the greatest impudence of all Scotchmen—as corrupt, fit for nothing except to do evil, and heaped every reproach upon them. As he made no exception in favour of any one, he was sent to the Tower.

9. April 5, 1606. I caused certain players to be forbid from acting the history of the Duke of Biron; when, however, they saw that the whole court had left the town, they persisted in acting it; nay, they brought upon the stage the Queen of France and Mademoiselle de Verneuil. The former, having first accosted the latter with very hard words, gave her a box on the ear. At my suit three of them were arrested, but the principal person, the author, escaped.

One or two days before, they had brought forward

their own King, and all his favourites, in a very strange fashion. They made him curse and swear because he had been robbed of a bird, and beat a gentleman because he had called off the hounds from the scent. They represent him as drunk at least once a day, &c.

He has upon this made order that no play shall be henceforth acted in London; for the repeal of which order, they have already offered 100,000 livres. Perhaps the permission will be again granted, but upon condition that they represent no recent history, nor speak of the present time.

10. Villeroi to Beaumont. February 2, 1608. As to what concerns your contest for precedence, invitations, &c., with the Spanish Ambassador, the King (Henry IV.) has told the English Ambassador, that from this transaction he gathers that his regard and friendship are little valued. Should this (and such was the case) have its origin with the Queen, he did not believe himself to deserve this disfavour, being more capable to honour and serve the ladies than his rival, Philip III.—and a better soldier to boot.

11. May 6, 1609. Many wish that King James would not write these books, but no one ventures to tell him so. Some believe he feels himself impelled by certain predictions, having become King of England, to destroy the power of the Pope, and drive

him out of Rome. The Queen, who spoke of this to me, makes herself merry upon it, and asserts that divers of the Council (especially Salisbury) urge him towards this, because they know that he will be involved thereby in interminable embarrassments, and must leave the Government to them in the meanwhile. The main origin of it, however, is certainly his presumption, in that he believes himself to understand more of theology than all the doctors in the world, and if any other motive is mixed up with this, it is the desire to obtain more consideration among the Lutherans and Calvinists, and to play the part of mediator between them.

12. The French Ambassador, Spifame, to the Minister Puyseux. May 21, 1611*. King James told me: He was an enemy to rebellions and to the secret intrigues which subjects entered into against their rulers. If, however, the reformers in France, after the death of Henry IV., had conceived suspicions, they had done so not without reason, as they were every where put in the back ground and dismissed, but the Jesuits, on the other hand, (those contrivers of disturbance in all countries,) favoured. The Queen will one day experience, how prejudicially they have every where operated, nay, he might

* Ambassades, MSS. de St. Germ. 965.

adduce many grounds to shew that they were guilty of the death of Henry IV., as they daily advocated the doctrine of king-killing. Even Bouilly had no part in affairs, and Sully, who had served with such success, had been dismissed. This grieved him; and what friendship could he expect from France, where his enemies were so powerful.

Spifame sought to rebut this, and observed, with respect to Sully: he took to himself so much under the late King, that the majority of the great men of the kingdom were discontented thereat. He wished also to retire, on finding that he could not maintain that consideration as he could wish. Yet the Queen only gave him his congé at his second application, and he carries away with him great reward for his services.

13. Spifame to Puitsieux. Nov. 18, and Dec. 1, 1612. I hold the death of Prince Henry to have been natural. Two days after his decease, there entered the house in which the body was being watched, at about ten in the evening, a young man, entirely naked, and about the age and stature of the Prince. He cried aloud, that he was sent from God, who had caused the soul of the Prince to transmigrate into his body. He ordered the watchers to shew him the body, and to inform the King that he had matters of great importance to com-

municate to him in the name of the Lord. That it was the more necessary to make haste, as his commission was for twenty-four hours only. He was arrested, watched, and on the following day again questioned, without any thing of consequence being extracted from him. In the afternoon he escaped, resumed his clothes, which he had laid in a grave, and since then nothing further has been heard of him.

On the subject of the Prince of Wales, La Boderie asserts in several reports:—That he is spirited and agile, unwilling, however, to let himself be governed by others, but follows his own inclination, and was therefore surrounded by his parents with persons who were devoted to them, that he might not indulge in too much liberty*.

* Report of Aug. 2 and Oct. 21, 1607, and of June 5, 1608.

LETTER LXII.

Arabella Stuart.—Betrothal and Marriage of Elizabeth with the
Elector Palatine.

CHARLES, Earl of Lenox, younger brother to Darnley, descended in the third degree from Henry VII., had a daughter named Arabella. The French ambassador, Chateauneuf, said of her, in August, 1587*:—She has much understanding, speaks Latin, French, and Italian well, is sufficiently handsome in the face, and would without doubt be the lawful inheritress of the crown, if James of Scotland were excluded as a foreigner.

James mounted, in the mean time, the throne without opposition. The plans of Cobham and Raleigh in favour of Arabella failed, and she remained in confinement, although much less dangerous to the King than his mother had been to

Queen Elizabeth. There are two letters of the French ambassador, Spifame, respecting an attempt of the unfortunate Arabella at escape *.

1. June 17, 1611. I wrote, some time back, that the King had caused his cousin to be conveyed twelve or fifteen miles from London, but had put the Earl of Hertford in the Tower, because (in breach of the promise given by Arabella) he had married her without the knowledge of the King, and the latter believed that other designs were connected with this proceeding.

Although the pair were removed upwards of fifteen miles distant from one another, they escaped on Thursday, the 14th of this month, at the same hour of the evening. When the officer of the watch on service went his rounds, the servant of the Earl excused him from appearing at his door on account of tooth-ache; and Arabella rode in man's attire to a harbour near Greenwich, where they met and set sail. The flight of the Earl occasioned little trouble to the King, but that of Arabella more, so that she is pursued in every way, and it is forbidden to assist her on pain of high treason.

2. June 24, 1611. A French ship of twenty-five

* Spifame lettres et depeches. St. Germain, Vol. 765, p. 207. 209, 210.

tons lay ready for sailing, and bound to Calais with wares and about eighteen or twenty persons on board, when, on the evening of the 13th, a person unknown said to the pilot, he should be well paid if he would wait till the morning of Saturday, the 15th, and take on board three persons of quality. They concluded the bargain for ten dollars. As the three persons came not to their time, the vessel set sail, but the parties followed soon after in a chaloupe, and two more, in men's clothes, came on board in addition, who, as they said, belonged to the party. Soon after this, the vessel making little way by reason of a calm, another gentleman came off to them in a third boat, which gave all present the conviction that the travellers might be persons of condition, who wished to escape from England. They saw also, not long after, a royal guard-ship, twenty-five soldiers from which endeavoured to reach the French vessel in a boat, and to frighten it into stopping its course by musquet-shots. In this emergency, Arabella declared her sex and station, and that she was flying not because she had committed any crime against the King and the state, but only to recover her liberty. She distributed money liberally among them, and implored them to press forward for Calais, whose towers were already in sight. In vain; the soldiers got on board, made

seizure of her person, and conducted her to London, where the King kept her prisoner till her death.

Of better auspices, but also of sad result, were the betrothal and marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine Frederick. * La Boderie writes, June 1, 1608:—She is handsome, engaging, well brought up, and speaks much better French than her brother.

The betrothal (says Spifame, Jan. 12, 1613) took place on the 7th of this month, at ten in the morning, in the great hall at Whitehall*. The solemn words having been pronounced, the Prince and Princess received the congratulations of the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all present. No ambassadors were invited. The Queen was not present, either on account of an inflammation in her foot, as she pretended, or for another reason, as others believe †.

March 1st, 1613. Spifame writes:—The marriage festivities lasted five days in succession. On Friday, the 22d February, running at the ring, and fire-

* St. Germain, MSS. Vol. 767.

† Selby says, in his history of James and Charles I., Queen Anne so much scorned and undervalued the Pfalzgrave for a husband unto the Lady Elizabeth, that she would call her Goodwife Pfalzgrave.

works in the evening, especially on the broad Thames. Saturday, the 23d, in the afternoon, a sea-fight between Christian and Turkish ships, burning of several chaloupes, and storming of a castle. Sunday, 24th, solemn espousal at Whitehall, in the presence of many distinguished and highly adorned witnesses. Elizabeth wore a crown set with diamonds, a dress of silver stuff, embroidered with silver, pearls, and precious stones, the train so long that it was borne by twelve or fifteen fair young ladies. The hair flying freely down as low as the knee. Dinner of 100 persons, in a saloon built for the purpose. After dinner the Princess put on a dress embroidered with gold, altered her head tire, but did not lay aside her crown. In the evening a similar feast, then a ball till three in the morning. Monday, 25th, running the ring again, and a masked ball of more than 300 ladies, almost all dressed in gold and silver. A quadrille in Spanish costume, but (what might well give offence) with the faces of apes. Tuesday, 26th, torch-bearing of various kinds. In the evening was to have been dancing again, but the press of people was so great, that, up to one in the morning, they had not been able to make room for it. Every body therefore went home, and the ball was put off till another time.

LETTER LXIII.

Upon the Earl of Somerset.—Extracts from the reports of the Ambassador Desmarets upon James, his wife, Villiers, &c.

THE favourites of James I. play, alas! so great a part in the history of his reign, that every intelligence respecting them must be welcome. The following, upon the Earl of Somerset, is from a contemporary Paris MS. *

Robert Carr, the fourth son of a Scotch gentleman, was for four or five years valet de chambre of the King, and in 1609, in the twentieth year of his age, broke his leg by falling with his horse. James, in whose presence this happened, was so affected, that he took personal charge of the cure, visited the patient nearly every day, and often remained with him a good hour.

* Vie et fin du Comte de Sommerset et de la Comtesse sa femme. St. Germain MSS. Vol. 740.

This was the origin of Carr's favour, and of the opinion in the King that he could form him excellently well for the service of the state. In the Latin tongue, which the King himself taught him, he made within a short time good progress, and practised also on the lute. His friend, Sir Overbury, a man of understanding, persuaded him to establish himself in all possible ways in the favour of the King, and also undertook to instruct him in the conduct of affairs.

In this way, Carr became by degrees High Treasurer of Scotland, Lord Viscount Rochester, and Knight of the Garter. Prince Henry and Salisbury were, on the other hand, not inclined to him; the last (a presumptuous, ambitious, malignant, and crafty man,) especially was furious that a boy, utterly inexperienced in affairs, should be placed on a level with himself, and should be elevated by nothing but the favour of the King. He put every stumbling block he could devise in his way; but, after Salisbury's death, Rochester was, in fact, secretary of state, and took into his head, for the increase of his power, to marry the Countess of Essex, whose husband was yet alive. Overbury endeavoured in all ways to dissuade him from this; prophesying from it the ruin of both, and saying that it shewed no nobleness to espouse a married woman of bad life,

with whom he had himself lived in illicit intercourse. Rochester fell into fury at these representations, and betrayed some of them to the Countess, who was passionately in love with him.

She poisoned her husband, as they say, three or four times, which, however, only had the effect of making him lose his hair and nails, and having his breath so infected that he became still more offensive than before to his wife. At last he consented to declare himself impotent, in order to free himself from his infamous wife. The King favoured the separation, but the Archbishop of Canterbury opposed it so openly as to excite James's disfavour therefore. In the meanwhile, the other Bishops went into the business, and Essex avowed that he was incapable with his own wife, but capable with any other woman. Hereupon an inquiry was ordered into the virginity of the Countess, but another woman was substituted in her place.

Then followed the new marriage, with an expense not inferior to that which had been bestowed on the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth*. The King gave them effects worth a million of gold, and gave occasion thereby to the loudest scandal. The

* Spifame. December 6, 1613. St. Germain, Vol. 767.

Countess was married after the fashion of virgins; with her hair flowing, although her new husband (Carr, elevated to the rank of Earl of Somerset,) had lived with her already too, three years; and Lord Essex said aloud, that a dozen men were too few for her. At the marriage, the Countess wore a coronet which was valued at 400,000 dollars, and the clothes of the Earl also were covered with precious stones; nay, he spent on his marriage, in silk and silver stuffs, 40,000 dollars.

In the mean time, they had offered Overbury, in order to get him out of the way, the embassy to Flanders; he, however, refusing it, they put him in prison, as having contemned the honour shewn him by the King. Thereupon Overbury wrote to Somerset that he had refused the post only out of friendship for him, and in order to remain in his neighbourhood. If he would free him from prison, he would not let him want for good counsel, &c. Somerset told him in reply, to have patience till the King's anger were gone by.

The Countess, however, in remembrance of what Overbury had spoken of her, nay, that he had, in direct terms, called her a whore, determined to prevent his liberation. Nay, her fear of the influence which Overbury once exercised over her husband, and of

his knowledge of all the peculations which had taken place, drove the matter on to further persecution, and finally, to the poisoning of the unhappy man.

The further narration of the poisoning of Overbury, and the punishment of the parties, concurs with the known accounts. I therefore quit it to turn to some trifles from the reports of the French Ambassador Des Marets*. He writes:—I endeavour to obtain audiences from King James, for in his conversation sometimes this and sometimes that escapes him†. In truth, however, all his speeches end in smoke, and he never comes to deeds. He yet entertains a perfectly good opinion of himself, considers himself the arbiter of all Christendom, and specially the protector of France. If his counsels be not blindly followed, he makes such a noise and alarum that one would think him about to do wonders, but all is blown away with the winds. He wants alike money and courage.

Always and in every thing does King James insist upon flattery‡. As this coin costs us nothing, and he takes it for good money, it is easy to be liberal in the use of it.

* Dupuy MSS. No. 419—420.

† Letters of November 19 and December 31, 1615.

‡ February 3, 11, and 13, 1616.

The Secretary Winwood has been with me, and promised to serve me faithfully, *mediantibus illis*, which means, if, according to my promise, I am liberal in my payments. Money is here the true Gordian knot which holds all together*. Even the Queen and Villiers are to be bought. The former sees like an able woman, that her husband cannot exist without a minion, and has herself put forward Villiers, in order to maintain a steady influence over him, &c.—In any case I will take care that the English shall not get our money without doing us service.

The Spanish party obtained, nevertheless, so much the superiority in the English Court, that Des Marets suffered many neglects, and almost lost his patience. Richelieu wrote to him :—Every thing has its season, therefore put up in patience with what is at all supportable, but not with any thing really injurious to the greatness of the French crown†.

King James had, however, not favoured the disturbances in France, and refused to allow any levies on the part of the Princes‡.

On the other hand, it deserves mention, that James

* February 22, 1616.

† January 5, 1617.

‡ August 16 and 21, 1618.

complains of a French agent having visited Raleigh in prison, and offered him assistance towards his escape*.

* Letters to the King of France, of Sept. 9, 1618. Neg. d'Angleterre, Vol. xxxiv. p. 410.

LETTER LXIV.

James I. upon the affairs of Bohemia. — Buckingham. — Influence of the Spaniards. — The Puritans. — Discontent.

THE election of the Elector Frederick, to the kingdom of Bohemia, threw his father-in-law, James I. into so much the greater embarrassment, as personal inclination, theoretical considerations, and political views influenced him in directly opposite and irreconcilable directions.

1. Letter of the Marquis of Buckingham to the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar*. King James has never given his son-in-law counsel or suggestion to accept the crown of Bohemia, on the contrary, has taken every occasion to dissuade him therefrom. Yet in the present case he is determined to remain neuter on three grounds. First, on account of his conscience; for the doctrine which he professes

* St. Germain MSS. Vol. 741.

allows of no conveyance of a crown on religious grounds. It prescribes obedience to kings and worldly authorities, even if they be Turks or infidels, and it is a well founded accusation against the Jesuits, that they wish to establish or depose kings at their pleasure. In the second place, the King of Spain has promised to mediate a good accord. In the third place, it is dangerous to acknowledge so sudden a conveyance of a crown at the will of the people*. On the other hand, the Palatinate at least should not be seized, for it belongs to the innocent children of Frederick.

2. Report of the French Ambassador, Tillicres, in London, September 22, 1619†. King James throws the affair of Bohemia into confusion in every way, and says sometimes one thing, sometimes another. Thus, for example, he said:—Austria had not taken up his good views in a befitting manner, and that the embassy of the Viscount Dowcastle, (which had cost him 300,000 dollars) had been intended for the advantage of that power, of Germany, and of Christendom, all of which were in need of peace. Another time he attacked his son-in-law, for the having with-

* Dangereux d'arriver cette soudaine translation de couronne par l'autorité du peuple.

† St. Germain MSS., Vol. 768, p. 364.

out his consent accepted the crown of Bohemia, and that things must be so directed that the King who had the best right should remain in possession. That the Archduke Ferdinand grounded his on an alleged gift from Spain ; how this however could be valid, he could not comprehend.

He said again on this head : the deposition of kings in our times is something quite extraordinary. It is true I know from history that such occurrences have sometimes taken place, but those times exist no longer, and I fear above all things that they will make a religious question of this election to a kingdom.

On my asking him, after all these conversations : what I therefore should write to the King of France, he answered, he had as yet come to no fixed resolution, but would inform me thereof as soon as he should have formed such. We might do the same on our side. I see this much before me, that he will not engage in the matter unless forced by the most urgent necessity.

3. Report from the same, of February 22, 1620 *. The Baron Aune, the Elector Palatine's envoy, was, in his first audience of the King, received not even as the envoy of the most inconsiderable Prince,

but only as a private person. On the other hand, he has been since treated at Newmarket with such honours, that greater could not be shewn to the first Prince of France, sent in the name of your Majesty. From such instances you may judge of the judgement and understanding of the King, who there imagines that, because he is twenty leagues away from hence, no one knows his goings on.

The words which they exchanged were, however, less courteous. The first which the King addressed to him was:—"Mordieu! can you shew me a good ground for the Palatine's invasion of the property of another?" The Baron answered: there was here no question of an invasion, but of a possession, which heaven had sent in a wonderful manner, and the people had offered. So, (said the King, interrupting him,) you are of opinion that subjects can dispossess their Kings? You are come in good time to England to spread these principles among the people, that my subjects may drive me away, and place another in my room. The Baron replied:—"The conditions are not similar, for you are King by hereditary right, the King of Bohemia, by right of election. If the states have thus chosen my master, I hold him for a legitimate King, and not for an usurper. I also wonder that your Majesty chooses not to acknowledge him and treat him as a King, as

you have acted towards the King of Sweden, who is a mere usurper. Every thing, moreover, which my master has done has been by your advice." King James denied this with oaths and curses, and added: "I did not acknowledge the King of Sweden till all the Princes of Christendom had done so." He then turned to the Marquis of Buckingham and said, if I consider the wise councillors who are about my son-in-law, I am not surprised that he commits so many impertinences.

Soon after this, the King's indignation passed; and he caused the answer of Frederick to the accusations of the Emperor be laid before him, of which some appeared to him valid, other parts insufficient. The Baron is returned to London, where he holds constant counsels with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward Wotton, and the Viscount of Down-castle. They hope to obtain a declaration to his satisfaction.

4. Report of March 10, 1620 *.—The Col. Gray has received permission to levy 2000 men for the King of Bohemia, and has placarded it every where in London, even on the door of the Spanish Ambassadors, that it is open to every man to take service with that King. Beyond doubt Gondomar will raise

all the louder complaints of this, knowing how much may be obtained by that method from King James. In the end, the latter will sacrifice the Colonel in order to satisfy the Ambassador. On the other hand many hope, that the Palatine will (under mediation of the King) bring to bear a loan from the city of London, because the citizens wish him well, and desire the destruction of the Roman Catholic religion in Germany.

5. April 6, 1620*. The King has been to St. Paul's to hear the Bishop of London preach. As this had not taken place before, during his reign, and he hates great assemblies of all kinds, it is conjectured that something of importance is in hand. The King has also given himself the trouble to chuse a text from the Old Testament: viz., it is time to build up again the walls of Jerusalem, and thus the whole matter ended in the sermon recommending a contribution for repair of St. Paul's church.

Many think the whole had reference to the support of the Palatine, which he dares not, out of fear of the Spanish Ambassador, openly recommend; and which would be at variance with the oath which he had sworn and still swears every day. The remainder of the sermon contained nothing but praises

of the King, so that jesters declare they mean to be converted, because, instead of the truth, a parcel of manifest lies are delivered from the pulpit.

6. April 16, 1620 *. In the first assembly at Guildhall, nothing was gained for the Palatine, and in the second (in which a secret recommendation had been received from the King, and another from the Prince of Wales,) nothing was concluded, further than that every one might give according to his pleasure, and the aldermen and other civic authorities might make a collection house by house. The clergy proceeds in like manner, and some 200,000 dollars may ultimately be collected. The proceeding, however, appears so derogatory that even the little children mock at it.

The Col. Gray is dissatisfied, for he wants money, and the King does not stand by him as he had promised. Nay, the latter said aloud at table :—that if the Palatine had invited the Turks to invade Hungary, he was an impious man, whom rather than uphold he would aid to destroy, and would march in person against the Turks. Nay, should he die first, they should carry his bones hither, so near did this matter lie to his heart. Many wonder at these speeches, and say, it would have been better

* P. 444.

to convey this in private to the Palatine than to speak it aloud at table.

I believe the whole to be a device of policy in opposition to the zeal of the Puritans, who wish to extort from him a declaration, and if he withhold it, mean to induce the people to insurrection.

The Spanish marriage project proceeds, although in the end one party means to deceive the other. Spain, namely, seeks thereby to delay the succours which might be sent to the King of Bohemia, and James finds in it a good pretext for not declaring himself on the subject of the affairs of Germany.

7. Reports of April 26 and 30, 1620*. The collection of money for the Palatine may amount to 200,000 dollars, and in addition to the 2000 English Gray means to levy 2000 Scotch. The King clandestinely does good services to his son-in-law, has sent Ambassadors to Turkey, Denmark, and Poland, and assures his Protestant friends, the Spanish alliance shall not prevent him from assisting the Palatine. Yet will he ever keep a back door open, and says already that he does not declare himself openly for Frederiek, in order to give the Catholic powers no cause for treating the whole as a religious war, the consequence of which would be to throw the

* P. 450. 455.

greater weight into their scale. Although this view be in nowise unfounded, he is guided much rather by his fears of Spain, and his aversion for trouble and exertion. France, as he hopes, will have enough to do with its own affairs; and of Pope Paul V., he says: he is a good man, who thinks of nothing but raising his relations; I wish him long life, that they may not elect one of greater capacity.

8. June 5, 1620*. Since my last report, the Spanish Ambassador has had an audience of the King. So soon as the latter saw him, he said, before the other could begin to speak, "You have reason to write to your master, that I am a traitor, a wicked man without truth or faith, on account of the affairs of the Catholics, the Baron Nort, and the assistance extended to the Palatine. But I assure you that not I, but the traitors who surround me, have done all this without my knowledge. The first is the work of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that wicked Puritan, the second of the Marquis of Buckingham, whom I point out to you as a traitor, against whom you should be on your guard. Being young and unpractised in affairs, he took money for the delivery of a passport to the Baron, but he is greatly concerned therefore, and if you would do me a plea-

sure you would comfort him on the subject. At this moment he called Buckingham in, and said to him : “ George, why have you, without my privity, given a passport for money ? ” Because, said Buckingham, you give me nothing. Upon these words the King seized him by the head, kissed him twice, and said, now you may go.

Hereupon he continued his conversation with Gondomar, and said, among other matters, the Palatine is a wicked man, an usurper, I will in no manner stand by him, and it is much more fitting that he, a young man, should suffer himself to be guided by an old King like myself, to a just act, the surrender of Bohemia, than that I should be by him involved in a troublesome business. The confederate princes implore my assistance, I give them, however, my royal word of honour that I will not bestow it, and request that you will write as much to the King of Spain. And yet he has, in the terms of the Protestant alliance, promised the direct contrary to the Baron Aune!!

When the King had finished speaking, Gondomar said: he had brought a written paper with him; as it, however, contained nothing but what His Majesty had just expressed with his own lips, he would tear it, (which in effect he did.) As the king had played the part of him, the Ambassador, he ought

now to act in his own person and character, as King, with respect to the affairs in question. Count Gondomar well perceives that this is all, in reality, a farce, and that he and his master are laughed at; I am, however, satisfied that he, on his part, will do as much.

The secretary of Baron Aune has set off, and has taken with him many precious stones, even English jewels of the crown, to pledge them for his master. He will raise from 5 to 600,000 livres upon them.

9. August 25, 1620 *. The Prince of Wales has become lately very jealous of his sister and the Palatine, which (although he is reluctant to expose them to hazard, and also supports their cause,) yet operates prejudicially on their affairs. The evil arises from the inconsiderate conduct of the Baron Aune, upon whom the Puritans evinced too much dependance, and even spoke ill of the Prince. The King (who detests the Puritans,) is pleased with the circumstance, as tending to separate his son from them.

10. December 22, 1620 *. Audacious language, offensive pictures, calumnious pamphlets, these usual forerunners of civil war, are common here, and are symptoms doubly strong of the bitter temper of men's

minds, because, in this country, men are in general better regulated, or, by the good administration of justice, are more kept within the sphere of their duties. Yet I doubt that any great action will come of it, inasmuch as the King will, in case of need, surely join the stronger party, or the spirits which have been weakened by a long peace, will take no hearty and dangerous resolution.

LETTER LXV.

Diplomatic reports of Tillieres.—James and the Parliament.—Promotions.—Buckingham.—The Electress Palatine.—Trial of the Attorney-General.—James and the French Huguenots.—Spanish influence in England.—The Palatinate.—Disorders in the Court.—The Prince of Wales.—Buckingham.—The Parliament.—Divinations into the future.—Charles I.—The Countess Buckingham becomes a Catholic.—James's extravagancies and vices.—The Spanish match.

THE last years of the reign of James, are in so far the most important in an historical view, as they immediately precede the remarkable period of Charles I. To this may be here added, that the reports of the French Ambassador in London, Tillieres, upon this particular period, are among the most copious, and he was a man exceeding most of his rank and calling in intellect and acuteness *. I may, therefore, be allowed to extract several particulars from

* *Negociations en Angleterre.* St. Germ. MSS. Vol. 769.

them, and even sometimes repeat nearly the same facts, for this very practice of returning to and going over the same ground, is instructive, and elicits traits of character.

1. March 1, 1821. Contrary to the expectation of King James and his council, the Parliament on Thursday evening, granted two subsidies, which might amount to some 7 or 800,000 dollars, one half payable in May, and the other in November. They acted thus out of apprehension of a dissolution of Parliament, and in the hope that the King would give them better satisfaction, and would not compel the people to insurrection. He has on his side, in my opinion, the great advantage that the Parliament for the future will, as in this case, grant money before the negotiation of other affairs, and will thereby be kept in check. For however ill inclined they appear, these grants of money which give a claim on their property, compel them to proceed with more gentleness and reverence. The King knows also how to take advantage of these circumstances; for when on Saturday they once more laid before him in a body, their desires, he first thanked them for the subsidies very courteously, and then said: He granted them freedom of speech within legal limits, that is to speak of their affairs with the reverence due to him; and if any one, out of evil intention or ig-

norance, should exceed that limit, he should know how to punish him.

March 11, 1621*. I wrote to you that the King had raised several persons to the rank of earls and viscounts; he has now named some also to be viscounts in Scotland, persons, however, of small rank, and yet smaller merit. For this reason, and seeing that they were to take precedence of English barons, the latter have held meetings at the houses of the Earls Salisbury and Dorset, and have drawn up a petition to the King, purporting that these viscounts had acquired their titles out of the country, and in no respect obtained their present honours by means of any service rendered to the State. He was, therefore, requested not to give precedence to them over the petitioners; and in future, to proceed with more caution in matters which were capable of estranging from him the hearts of his subjects, when they saw the rewards of virtue distributed for money, or by favour.

When the Marquis of Buckingham (at whose suggestion the above viscounts had been named) heard of this, he took aside the Lords Salisbury and Dorset, and said to them: I am much astonished that you should chuse to set yourselves up in opposition to the

rights of the Crown as well as to myself, with whom, as you know, these nominations have originated. Up to this time I held you for my friends, but see plainly that I have been mistaken, and shall for the future live on a different footing with you. They answered, we cannot admit that we set up ourselves against his Majesty, if, with all possible respect, we lay before him the complaints and grievances of his faithful subjects. Just as little is any attack intended on yourself, whom we love and esteem; if you, however, chuse to place yourself on another footing (*qu'il n'y avait rien de si libre*). The Marquis complained upon this to the King, and uttered, in the greatest passion, many ill-timed expressions.

In my judgement, Buckingham has conducted himself in this matter like a young man, intoxicated, and so put out of his senses, by court favour, that he forgets all the respect due to his master, mixes himself up in an affair which does not pertain to him, and without any sufficient ground makes enemies of so many considerable men.

The King has brought the thing before his council, and has summoned these Lords, but has received from them the answer: that, during the sitting of Parliament, they were entitled to hold assemblies and consultations of every kind, would expose the matter in the upper house, and only there justify their pro-

ceedings. This answer has set the King, already much excited by Buckingham, beside himself with anger, so as that he wished to send Dorset and Salisbury to the Tower, till it was represented to him that the Parliament might easily take up their cause in a very dangerous manner. He now endeavours to separate them by talking over individuals, and will perhaps succeed. On the other hand, the Parliament evinces by its conduct of affairs more heat and want of judgment than prudence. We must however wait for the result before we can judge with security, for in this country circumstances daily change their appearance; the affairs of Spain alone preserve a steady course, because Count Gondomar uses influence, not only as an ambassador, but even like a servant of the crown, receives information of the most secret things, and often knows how to carry his views into execution.

March 20, 1621. The King is in the greatest fear that the Electress Palatine, his daughter, will arrive here, and favour the party of the Puritans. Buckingham, who is not in her good graces, and knows that the King always joins the stronger party, strengthens him in this view, and uses every device to frustrate the project of this journey. The Ambassador Carleton has therefore been written to; to say to the Queen, if she should arrive at the Hague, that on pain of her father's anger, she should abstain from

coming to this country. Some think that she will turn back upon this; others say she must get out of it in the most honourable manner, and not allow herself to be frightened. Nay, that it were better that she lay in the Tower, than that she should wander round the world in misery, without a safe place of refuge!

4. May 29, 1621. You wish to see the grounds more exactly developed on which the King wishes his daughter not to come here. 1st, He knows the dependence of the people, and especially of the Puritans, on the Electress Palatine, and, excited by the partisans of Spain, is uncommonly jealous thereof, thinking that she may raise a great party. 2dly, The sight of her would be a continual reproach to him for having deserted her, and her demands for aid might involve him with Spain. 3dly, Buckingham is her enemy, if for nothing else, because the Puritans are his enemies. 4thly, The Marquis would fain please the Spanish Ambassador; and 5thly, equally his own wife, whom the arrival of the Electress would thrust into the back ground.

That you may the better understand what is the state of things here, I tell you the following. Some six months back the attorney-general* was imprisoned at the suggestion of Buckingham†, whether be-

* Sir Henry Yelverton. [Tr.]

† P. 70.

cause he had really done him some wrong, (or, as others assert,) because he had not, to please Buckingham, chosen to infringe upon his own honour and duties. The Parliament, immediately on its meeting, demanded that the prisoner, after fitting enquiry, should be punished, or set free. The King granted this demand, and the Puritans conceived that they might use against Buckingham a man well acquainted with all his projects, and that the latter would seek to revenge himself even at the risk of his own destruction. On his defence he spoke with unusual boldness, and averred that if he had done any thing unjust or contrary to law, he had done it by order of Buckingham, who often assumed to himself the dignity of a King, and threatened in the name of James. At the conclusion, he compared Buckingham with Spenser, the favourite of Edward II., who brought his master to destruction, and himself to an evil end.

Buckingham complaining of this to the King, the latter caused the attorney to be removed from the house, whither he had been conveyed for the period of the trial, and to be shut up again in the Tower. The Parliament complained of this proceeding, and demanded that the attorney should be allowed to explain his expressions. At last the Puritans prevailed over the adherents of Buckingham and caused the prisoner to be informed how the matter stood, and

advised him to say to the full house of Parliament, that he wished to learn whether the accusers of the Earl of Somerset and the discoverers of the chancellor's peculations, were guilty of high treason, for in that case he was guilty of the like crime, insomuch as he had spoken against the Marquis. In the other case, however, he had done a service to the King and the State, and was ready, for their good, to disclose many other matters in addition. The wife of the attorney who had up to this time imparted his resolutions to the Puritans, now gave the Marquis of Buckingham notice of this letter; whether as thinking that this would be to the advantage of her husband, or because she held him for lost, and wished at the least to save herself. Buckingham, however, hastened to the King, and demanded from him the immediate dissolution of the Parliament. To this the King would not consent, but was of opinion they ought to put the attorney in fear. He therefore caused him to be told, that if he would not sign a paper laid before him, in which he recalled every thing he had uttered against himself and Buckingham, the King would dissolve the parliament, but cause him to be hanged.

This took such effect on a man otherwise esteemed courageous, that he signed the paper forthwith, acknowledged it in Parliament, and uttered more base apologies than had even been required of him,—On

account of this cowardice, his friends in astonishment abandoned him, and he was, on the ground not of corrupt dealing in his office, ~~but~~ ~~his~~ ~~conduct~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~office~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~king~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~ministers~~ ~~cast~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~fine~~ ~~of~~ ~~16,000~~ ~~marks~~, and condemned to other humiliations. He was also, nevertheless, kept in prison without any limit being assigned to his detention.

5. June 24, 1621*. The want of regularity and decision in the government, and especially in the King, (either natural or assumed for a purpose,) throws me into great difficulties. For when, for example, I believe myself to have brought him and those around him, by arguments and good offices, to the conclusion that they will not endeavour to effect anything in France in favour of the Huguenots; nay, when the King goes so far as to speak slightly of them, and to treat them as rebels; I suddenly receive information from those who carefully observe his words and actions, that he is as if utterly altered, is calling on his subjects to stand by the Huguenots, and swearing he would rather lose all his three crowns than suffer Rochelle to be taken. These are, I know, nothing but words, which would not, of themselves, astonish me; but he seeks to raise money for that end, is already secure of a large sum, and may well interfere in the affairs of France.

sooner than in those of his son-in-law. Not because the latter are less near his heart, but because he fears Spain, but despises France, inasmuch as the latter possesses no fleet and is involved in religious war.

6. June 30, 1621*. If the suggestions made by me be not attended to, no influence will ever be obtained in this country. The Spanish ambassador, although an able and dexterous man, gains his objects here, not so much by his courteous manners, (galanterie,) as because he continues to build on a foundation which has been laid for him fifty years since, and upon intimacies and alliances which Spain, by prudent and wise behaviour, has gained and preserved; not to mention that his reports are believed, and that he has sufficient funds at his disposal, while I can command neither money nor confidence.

7. The Dutch ambassador, Caron, to the States General. July 2, 1621†. There are letters from Spain, and copies of letters to the Emperor and the Archduke, which excite the greatest attention. King James believes in the approaching surrender of the Palatinate, as firmly as though he had it already in his hands; and the consideration of the Spanish ambassador increases daily. When the latter brought

* P. 89.

† P. 103.

these letters to the King, the Marquis of Buckingham brought him back in his litter and gave him the right hand. They conversed very confidentially, whispered, and pressed each other's hand, while the people looking on kept their hats on their heads and wished him hanged. However this may be, believe me that this mountebank obtains the greatest influence, on which account, we must strive to set him on a good footing with the King and his subjects.

8. Tillieres.—Report of August 4, 1621*. Heaven and earth are combined against us! The Puritans yell, the people is furious, the Spaniards are preparing, under the concealment of fair words, blows of the greatest consequence, so that I know not how King James will resist, although highly reluctant to take active part in a fray. In Paris, you set forth nothing but mere general grounds and considerations, which in this country have neither shine nor substance. If you tell me the King is a coward, powerless, and will give no support to the Huguenots in France, having given up his own son-in-law, I answer—1st, that the King is timid and cowardly as soon as any ground for fear shews itself, but now, when he sees that France cannot hurt him, because she possesses no fleet, and is over employed at

home, he troubles himself little about her. — 2dly, His want of power is not so complete as you think, for the merchants are ready to pay for the twenty Algerine ships, a naval expedition to the French coast costs little, and with 150,000 crowns, (a sum which he can command,) he can ship over 10 or 12,000 men to France ; inasmuch as his subjects display the greatest zeal to come to the assistance of their fellow religionists, are ready to revive old claims, and have such an opinion of the merits of the country, that they are ready to cross the channel without pay.—3rdly, Many reasons concurred to prevent the King from supporting his son-in-law. He feared, for example, Austria and Spain, and a campaign in the distant Palatinate appeared so perilous and costly, that he could do more for a dollar in France than for twenty in Germany.

9. Tillieres, August 23, 1621*. They have no thoughts here of a war either in France or in Germany, nor of any occupation whatever, other than that of eating, drinking, and making merry. The house of the Duke of Buckingham is a chief resort for these pursuits, but I have too much modesty to describe, in the terms of strict truth, things which one would rather suppress than commit in writing to am-

bassadorial dispatches, destined for the perusal of exalted persons. They are such as even friends touch upon only with reluctance in confidential letters. I have, nevertheless, sought out for the most decent expressions which I can make use of, to convey to you some of the particulars; but I have not succeeded, whether because I am deficient in adroitness or that it be actually impossible to lay these histories before chaste ears.

It seems, however, that from Paris they pressed for further particulars; and Tillieres therefore returns, in a later dispatch, undated, to the same or a similar subject. He writes:—"In order to confer an honour on the House of the Duke of Buckingham, the King determined with premeditation, to drink to excess at a banquet there. When he was a good way advanced, and full of sweet wine, he took the Prince of Wales by the hand, led him to the Lords and Ladies, and said,—there was a great contention between the Prince and himself as to which of the two best loved the Marchioness of Buckingham. After having recounted all sorts of reasons for and against, he drew some verses from his pocket, which his poet Jonson had made in praise of the Marchioness, then read some others of his own invention, and swore he would stick them on all the doors of his house to show his good-will.

. . . * Had I not received this account from trustworthy persons, I should have considered it impossible; but this King is as good for nothing as possible, suffers himself to be walked in leading-strings like a child, is lost in pleasures, and buried for the greater part of his time in wine †.

Buckingham ruins England by fomenting new factions and estranging the affections of the people by his misconduct. He becomes daily more audacious in exciting convulsions in the State, whether because he believes himself obliged to go through with what he has begun, or because he is dazzled with his good fortune, or because his mother drives him forward, a woman who meddles in every thing, and is as bold as she is shameless and bad intentioned.

The Prince of Wales's actions are so little disposed to virtue, that he is despised and hated as much as his sister is honoured and beloved.

10. Nov. 25, 1621. It is a misfortune to be obliged to do public business in this country; for all

* The passage omitted in the text, is one which justifies the Ambassador's previous scruples as to dealing with the subject. It adds a lamentable proof to the many before extant of James's disgusting indecencies; and it is difficult to read it without deriving the worst opinion of his habits and those of his favourites.
[Tr.]

† October 18, p. 151.

turns upon the King, the Marquis, and the Secretary of State. The first was ever sullen when he was forced to hear of such, and this gains upon him since violent headaches have weakened him and attacked him both in body and spirit. The Marquis, with his vanity, takes every thing under his charge, affairs internal and foreign, although, in fact, he knows nothing of either, and they are objects of interest to him, not in regard to the good of his country, nor the honour of his master, but simply with respect to his own advantage. Every thing thence is in confusion, and instead of gaining reputation as a man of business, he loses the only good quality he possesses, that of an accomplished courtier. Thus in the end he exhibits nothing estimable, and he is hated to the uttermost, among other reasons, on account of the excessive preference which he betrays for Spain.

On Lord Digby's lately defending the cause of the Palatine in the Council, Buckingham turned so pale that it was thought he was falling into a swoon; and another time, as the other was boasting of some courtesies done him by the Emperor, the Marquis said quite loud, he wondered how that Lord could so ill requite them. Digby, however, did not remain in his debt for an answer, but replied on the instant: if courtesies are shewn to me as to a private person,

I endeavour to requite them by personal services; but, as a man of honour, I will never requite them at the expense of my master.

The third man in whose hands the public affairs are ostensibly lodged, is the Secrétary of State, Calvert. He is an honourable, sensible, well-minded man, courteous towards strangers, full of respect towards ambassadors, zealously intent upon the welfare of England; but by reason of all these good qualities, entirely without consideration or influence.

11. January 6, 1622 *. The vices of the King weaken his intellect, as appears from the letters which he has written to the Parliament, and in which the want of order, connection, and judgement, is apparent. For where he wishes to assume the language of a king, his tone is that of a tyrant, (*il taille du tyran,*) and where he condescends, he is vulgar. He has no other view than that of depriving the Parliament of its rights, and thinks he has reached his end when he has scolded it; (*gourmandè le;*) without reflecting that things of this kind are not to be effected by violence, but much rather, or only, by a prudent line of conduct. This design was put into his head already during the lifetime of the treasurer Cecil, who, on account of his mal-administration,

was afraid of such an overseer as the Parliament, and always set the King against it.

Buckingham has continued in the same course, perhaps on similar grounds, but has not yet reached his object; for the Parliament has adopted a bold resolution which much displeases the King, although some think, that this is rather the last exertion of a moribund old age than of a vigorous youth.

However this may be, the Parliament is adjourned till February 18, and there is a firm determination to dissolve it, although it be not known when and how. The affair may, in truth, be dangerous, unless conducted with prudence, a quality totally wanting in the conduct of affairs here, inasmuch as the King and Buckingham insist upon doing every thing, but do nothing. The former, forsooth, inasmuch as he sinks so low in his nullity that sloth now appears to him the highest and only enjoyment; the latter, out of want of understanding, and because he aims not at the honour of his master, but at the furtherance of his own interests. This has already been the consequence, that he has advised the King to remain at Newmarket, where he leads a life to which past nor present times present no parallel.

Buckingham follows wildly the plan of dissolving the Parliament, which must bring on his destruction.

This, it is true, is delayed by the spirit of cowardice which a long peace has brought upon this country, but we cannot but believe, that in some way or other, this spirit will come to an end, and then be converted into fury. I entertain this view in common with many intelligent men, so that this state, which has so long beheld with joy our misery and that of Christendom, will be in similar condition unless more compassion be shown towards her. I am induced to judge in this fashion, more than by any thing else, by James's plan for the diminution of the power of the Parliament, which is intended for the purpose of maintaining the equilibrium between the prerogatives of the King and the liberties of the people. So long, therefore, as this power of the Parliament maintained itself erect, without bending to the one side or the other, the State continued to flourish; it is, however, to be feared, that if it once sink, all will crumble into ruin together.

His own feeling teaches this to every Englishman, and all complain of the matter; the King alone seems free from anxiety, and has made a journey to Newmarket, as a certain other sovereign once did to Capri. He takes his beloved Buckingham with him, wishes rather to be called his friend than king, and to associate his name to the heroes of friendship

of antiquity. Under such specious titles he endeavours to conceal scandalous doings, and because his strength deserts him for these, he feeds his eyes where he can no longer content his other senses. The end of all is ever the bottle.

Thus lives the ruler of England, Scotland, and Ireland; a life which plainly shews that he has discarded every good quality, and that of what he once was, nothing but a certain malignant disposition remains, which he exercises with delight on those who, as he conceives, might do him injury.

13. February 22, 1622 *. The King is without council, the country without government, and Buckingham advances, as far as his good will is concerned, the elevation of Spain before the prosperity of England. If out of all this greater dissatisfaction among the great, revolt of the people, and bloody war do not arise, the reason does not lie in the lightness of the evil, but in that this people is either more moderate, or less sensible to injury, or more timid than others. Beyond doubt, however, the imposthume must break, and that soon, as stimulants are constantly applied. In what manner this will take place, no one knows: perhaps it will occur by the Dutch bringing over the Electress

Palatine to England, and providing the Puritans an honourable pretext for revolt, and a stimulus to their fervour, which has been cooled down by the long peace.

14. March 31, 1622, p. 230. 'The Lower House is singularly provoked, and determined to attack in the first instance the Chancellor and the Treasurer, who have voted in favour of these monopolies, but next to raise a feud against Buckingham. The latter, taking fright, has represented to the King:— that if he allow his most faithful servants so to be persecuted, he will soon lose them, nor was he to believe that this took place on account of any real malversation, but that the attack was directed in fact against him, the King himself, wherefore, he must dissolve the Parliament so soon as it should have granted two more subsidies. This discourse from a favourite on the one hand, and fear and jealousy of the Parliament on the other, caused the King to play all sorts of parts. Sometimes he swore and denied his Maker, (*reniant Dieu*,) then he laid his length upon the ground and declared he wished to die, also that he saw well that the Parliament would be his death; then he wept, and finally determined to go down himself to the Upper House. From all this you may see that Buckingham makes the King play all manner of parts, except only that

of a King, and that he seeks to derive for himself as much advantage as the other derives infamy from the circumstances.

15. Report of May 4, 1622, p. 250. My lord Digby enjoys, as Ambassador, so great a salary that he does not expend the half of it. He takes himself, however, out of the way, principally on account of his enemies, at the head of whom is Buckingham, who never will forgive him his attacks upon Spain; and the less so, that he has spoken disadvantageously of the Marquis to the Prince of Wales, saying that he was the ruiner of England. The Prince reported the whole to Buckingham, who still enjoys the position of favourite, a name comprising every thing which can be expressed of evil, and conveying all the bad consequences which have ever flowed from it.

16. May 22, 1622, p. 270. There is something truly extraordinary in the Government of this country: we can as little elucidate it when we see it as conceive it when we are away from it; for nothing now takes place by rule or reason, but every thing according to the appetite (appetit) of Buckingham, that young man, ignorant, dazzled by favour, and hurried forward by passion. His will and pleasure passes for statute and prescription, and in place of his influence soon decreasing, as was expected, it increases daily to that degree that several (in the

absence of a sufficient solution) believe that 'the King has been bewitched. For my part, I am convinced that the secret lies in his infamous licentiousness, (paillardise,) his total want of spirit, and the reckless state of dissolution of his intellect. The former cause has driven him into this passion, and the latter have chained him to it. It is true a report exists that his passion extends itself to Buckingham's wife, and to a little child which he passionately loves, tenderly embraces, and will always have in his sight; but I believe, that these and a thousand other particulars which one cannot venture to speak out, and which no man can believe who has not seen them, proceed simply from his friendship for Buckingham.

All murmur, all suffer: the lords are contemned and little rewarded, the nobility taxed and insulted, and the people impoverished, while the most distant relation of Buckingham (although totally without claim of service) is advanced and gratified. His rapacity is become insatiable, or always was so, and has, in these the times of his favour, like his other vices, first come into full display. Nor is it enough that all classes should be pressed down into such a condition, but it is even forbidden them to complain.

The earl of Oxford, the second lord of this kingdom, has at last been put in the Tower, because he would

not give his niece in marriage to Christopher Villiers, and added some words of little signification against Buckingham. A friend of the earl, a gentleman of condition, finds himself in a miserable prison, and is threatened with the torture, because he will not depose to what he had never heard.

Every body is indignant at this government, every body murmurs at these proceedings, every body hates and despises this King in an incredible manner; but at the period when he was more in possession of his faculties, he had so divided the great men among themselves, their courage is so sunk, and the country so little favourable to revolts, that nothing but the uttermost climax of the evil can unite the spirits, and as if wake them from a lethargy.

Up to this time they have sought their counteracting means, not in generosity, but have acted like those physicians, who, in case it be impossible to remove the pain of a wound, recommend some intoxicating draught, or tobacco, or other sensual pleasure to divert the thought and imagination from the evil. Many say, "if even young persons die it cannot possibly last long with an old man;" they place their hope upon the Prince of Wales. I, however, maintain, against the opinion of many, and especially of Mons. Donquester, who holds him for a man of much understanding, and of his word, and ascribes

his great endurance to wisdom, that when he comes to the government, his subjects will soon be tired of him, for he will exhibit all the vices of his father, but display none of the qualities which his friends attribute to him; for how were it otherwise possible that a prince of his years should, as yet, have given no proof of any thing good or generous.

17. June 5, 1622, p. 275. I have written to you, in my last letter, that the Countess of Buckingham was become a Catholic. When the King and the Marquis, her son, learnt this, they conceived the highest dissatisfaction, the former as an enemy of our religion, and because it seemed to him a great discredit, that a lady of his court, the mother of his favourite, with whom he himself (and he holds himself for a doctor in theology) had so often and so particularly spoken, should abandon her faith. Buckingham, because he knows, that if any thing upon earth could undermine his favour, or give it a shock, this very accident is of that description.

• Both have done their utmost to divert her again from the good path; the Marquis set on foot also a grand colloquy which was attended by his mother, the keeper of the great seal—a good man and one not disinclined to the Catholics—father Fisher, and the preacher Ovit, but which did not produce the desired result. There ensued a second, at which the King as-

sumed the functions of a preacher; and if souls are to be converted by screaming, swearing, and denying God and all the saints, (*crier, jurer, et renier Dieu et tous les saints*,) the countess has done very wrong not to follow his doctrine.

18. July 19, 1622, p. 301. The elevation to the rank of Earl is here the highest reward for the greatest services, so entirely so, that Elizabeth, in her long reign, never favoured but three persons with that honour. Now it is bestowed on persons of very limited merit, and the government of the whole State appears to have no other end than the elevation of Buckingham, his friends and relations. Whoever is aware of this, and judges England by other nations, will look for commotions as the result of this: that result however will be postponed for reasons both universal and particular.

England is an island, difficult of access to strangers, without fortresses, and without an influential nobility, which in ordinary circumstances usually takes the lead in disturbances. The long peace has produced cowardice; the King in his better days (by help of the subtle and dexterous Cecil) excited divisions among the nobility, and the affairs which continually occupied France and Spain at home or from abroad, permitted no effectual interference in the affairs of England. On the other hand, the King of England

has thought of nothing but the present, never of the future, and it is to be feared that all these saws and maxims will sooner or later vanish in smoke.

Those who have known the Marquis Buckingham, before his elevation, and judge of him with little passion, say, he was, as a young man, good by nature and constitution, and very modest, but that favour has ruined him. The King, instead of guiding and bringing him up with attention, gave him full liberty and unrestrained power, so that it has fallen out in his case as in that of nearly all other favourites. Vanity, presumption, and rapacity now sway him, and for the future he is in danger to tumble with a miserable fall (*de tomber par une chute miserable*); whether by the death or desertion of the King or whether the excess of his scandalous life may drive the English, cowards as they may be, into insurrection. In this case the King would give him up as scandalously, as he has elevated him without reason.

Buckingham, say others, has always had the same vices, but concealed them till his power enabled him to display them unpunished. Others say, "favourites are intended for the chastisement of Kings and nations, and God always employs the most wicked of them to this terrible end."

19. Oct. 18, 1622, p. 396. The weightiest and

most urgent affairs cannot drive this King to devote to them even a day, nay an hour, or to interrupt his gratifications. These consist, in his betaking himself to a remote spot, where (out of the sight of men) he leads a filthy and scandalous life, and gives himself up to drinking and other vices, the very remembrance of which is sufficient to give horrible displeasure (*deplait horriblement*). It appears as if the more his strength wastes away, the more these infamous passions increase, and passing from the body over to the mind, assume double power. He has left the Prince and the authorities here to consult upon affairs, but these are bodies without a soul, as every decision depends upon the King, who never takes one, or at the best does so only to live in peace, or to do some act of malice.

20. Dec. 6, 1622, p. 411. I am in truth the most unlucky of all who have ever filled such posts as mine ! They have facts to relate worthy of relation ; I such as appear unworthy of being committed to writing. For if their post lies in lands which are the theatre of war, they speak of battles, actions, sieges, or other matter equally attractive and important. Are the countries at peace, they speak of good order and police within, of wisdom and nobleness in the management of foreign affairs. They have a wide field to display their intellect, and to content their em-

players. My lot is fallen, on the contrary, on a kingdom without order, sunken from its glory and age, smitten by repose ; on a King devoted to his own nothingness, and whose principle it is, only so far to strive for the good of his subjects, as may give him facilities for plunging himself deeper into vice of every kind. He will not look around, he will not look before, but, nothing troubled as to object and aim, seeks only to gain time.

This perverted principle, or rather this stupid vanity and obstinacy, will, for example, not allow him to confess that he is deceived by the Spaniards. He takes their words for ready coin, lets them pass for deeds, and pays them in the same currency.

Is it not a judgement of God on the King and his people, that he who rules so many millions, suffers himself to be ordered and reprimanded by a man without merit or virtue ? Must not such favourites, who sacrifice every thing to their interest, and loosen every tie, bring on civil wars ? December 6, 1622, p. 415.

21. January 12, 1623. Buckingham is daily more despised by every one, even by the Spaniards whom he was favoured. He has all the more succeeded in insinuating himself, with a view to the future, into the favour of the Prince of Wales. This new favour is very variously spoken of: many who do not see

far into things, believe that the Prince dissembles; few know that passions for women have to do with it. Howsoever the affair may be, the Prince is loudly blamed therefore, and the more he advances in age, the more he diminishes his reputation.

22. February 14, 1623. The King troubles himself nothing as to what men think of him, or what is to become of the kingdom after his death. I believe that a broken flask of wine, or a similar nothing, is nearer his heart, than the ruin of his son-in-law, and the misery of his posterity. And Buckingham confirms him in every thing, and hopes that the more he abandons himself to all pleasures and to drunkenness, the weaker will be his understanding and spirit, and so much the easier he will be able to rule him by fear when other ties of connection are dissolved.

In the beginning, Buckingham showed moderation enough, for he feared lest the Queen Anne should effect his downfall, as she did that of Somerset. After her death he was still afraid of the Prince of Wales; but since he has become secure of him also, by the means of procuring him gratifications of all kinds, his own disposition displays itself in a reckless manner, and he exhibits debauchery, effrontery, irreligion, and rapacity in the highest degree.

23. March 3, 1623. I am assured that the King is so disgusted with Buckingham and his presump-

tion, and not less so with his son, by reason of the friendship sprung up between them, that he would rather endanger his State * than put up with this any longer.

Gondomar, before his departure, gave some assurances to the Prince of Wales respecting his marriage, in the event of his journeying to Spain. Don Balthazar de Zuniga, however, appears not to have sanctioned the plan. Since then the matter has been one while pushed forward, at another let drop, till a few days since, a pretended merchant delivered letters to the Prince in which a rupture of the marriage negotiations was indicated, if Charles did not make a journey to Spain. The latter is now disposed rather to encounter dangers than incur an unsuccessful termination of the affair, and so much more, as his father for some time back has treated him with open and insupportable contempt. In order to avoid enduring this lesser evil, the Prince, like a man without judgement, hurls himself head foremost into the greatest of follies, and Buckingham, whom the King only tolerates through fear and habit, wishes by a dangerous and extravagant conduct, so to attach himself to the Prince, that the latter must in every case either support him or share his ruin.

* By marrying Charles to a Spanish Princess.

24. March 5, 1623, p. 460. The King will have no man about him of condition, intellect, or judgement; but little people who defer to him in every thing, who praise his vices as others praise virtues, and who calumniate all men of honour and virtue. He hates such mortally, thinking that they defame and despise him; he would fain avoid the sight of them, because he thinks their countenances reproach him for his abominable and scandalous life.

LETTER LXVI.

Vallaresso upon James I.—Charles I.—His journey to Spain.
—Failure of the marriage scheme.—James's timidity.—Insolence
of the Spaniards.

THE despatches of the Venetian envoy, Vallaresso, afford some illustration and confirmation of what has been above related.

August 15, 1622. King James speaks with two tongues, and never acts consistently with what he says. Dangerous party divisions are already the result. He would fain restrain the preachers in their discourses upon religious matters. That, however, would be to endeavour to check a mountain torrent, which is only made more furious by the obstacle.

February 24, and March 1, 1623. The king is mutable, artificial, close, attached to peace, timorous; the proper artificer of every mischance. Good principles and feelings are extinguished in him. He loves nothing but himself, his own convenience and

pleasures ; he distrusts every one, suffers from extreme weakness of mind, and is tyrannized over by a constant fear of death.

September 16, 1622. Of the Prince Charles as yet scarcely any thing is to be said, except that he is, like his father, passionately addicted to the chase. Whether his obedience be the result of wise principle or natural disposition, it is hard to say ; but the coldness which he displays in all his dealings, leads us to no very favourable conclusions in the case of a young man, unless on his accession to the sovereignty he display a different disposition.

March 8, 10, 11, 1623. The Prince and Buckingham are suddenly set off in disguise for Spain. This resolution is a gulf of wonder, a labyrinth without entrance or exit, approved by no man, without example in ancient or modern history. It is at variance with the true interest of the King, the realm, the Prince, Buckingham ! How can the latter thus absent himself from the King, take part in so audacious an undertaking, and make himself responsible for every mischance ?—If, as some maintain, Gondomar said, that the marriage would come to pass if the Prince would go to Spain, it could only have been his intention to express the impossibility of the marriage by reference to that of the journey.

Very various grounds are adduced in explanation

of the journey. 1st. The Prince wished to see the Infanta.—2nd. He had fallen beyond measure in love with her picture.—3rd. The King wished to ruin Buckingham and inculcate his son.—4th. They hoped to bring the affair, by this means, to a favourable conclusion.—5th. Heaven blinds those whom it wishes to chastise.—6th. The journey took place through predestination.

May 4, 7, 21 ; 28th July, 1623. As the Prince entered Madrid it rained. 1 (Vallaresso) said to King James : this betokens the fruitfulness of the approaching marriage.—The Prince for the rest receives few visits; they neglect and shun him, and he is in want of amusement. He sees the Infanta but seldom and furtively (*furtivamenté*). One morning as she went into the garden to walk, the Prince, attended by Buckingham, jumped over a wall and approached to see her; an action, more that of a lover than of a Prince, and ill taken by the guardians of the Infanta.

The King of Spain has sent King James an elephant; it is not known whether as earnest (*caparra*) or instead of the Infanta. It is certain that James said; he had merely yielded to the wish of his son, and complained to his council, with tears, what injustice he experienced from Spain. The journey cost 500,000 livres, and the Prince returned to London on the 16th October, having failed in its object. Oct. 20 ; Dec. 1, 22, 29, 1623.

The Count Olivarez made the Prince a present of hams, raisins, figs, capers, and other like fruits; the latter distributed away the whole, without keeping for his own use the smallest article. The whole city was aware of the unsuitableness of such a present, and ballads were made upon it. It is evident that the Prince was treated with contumely. All the presents and letters which were sent from hence for the Infanta, are come back, the latter untouched as they were forwarded, an insult which the Prince has felt as acutely as his cold and reserved nature permits him. Letter of Tillieres of May 14, 1624.

The King is beset by double fear of his son and of Spain. Fear is, and ever was, his ruling passion! He quakes, prays, cries, but at last, however, is again appeased.

The Spaniards despise this kingdom as weak, poor, disunited, swayed by a cowardly King and an inexperienced Prince; they mock at the rage of these, and talk of a revolt of the mice against the cats*.

May 10 and 21, 1624. They excite fear in the mind of the King at the same time of his son, of Buckingham, and the parliament, who are represented as intending to reign in his place, and to leave him nothing but a deer-park to hunt in. He

* April 12, 1624. Compare Elizabeth's government and the year 1588.

suspects, complains, whines, but has perhaps himself a hand in this game of intrigues and accusations, in order to make others feel the fears to which he is subject.

Affairs in general are come to a pass such that great changes must, before long, take place.

Notwithstanding that Vallarresso had, generally, a correct view of these matters, he yet considered flattery as part of the duty of his office, and he said to the Prince, after his return from Madrid, "that the *veni, vidi, vici*, of Cæsar was applicable to him: he had carried off the victory over deceit, and victory in arms would next follow."

LETTER LXVII.

Spanish marriage.—Puritans.—Projects against Spain.—The Parliament, Charles, and Buckingham.—The High Treasurer.—Earl of Middlesex.—Marriage engagement of Charles with the French Princess.—Olivarez.—The Papal court.

THE manner in which the labours of the Prince Charles became abortive in Madrid, placed him and his father in an entirely different relation to Spain, and the project began to develop itself of a match with France. In general, however, the government of James continued to be as miserable and inconsistent, as may be collected from the above. The following extracts from the diplomatic reports of Tillieres, Effiats, and others, give additional details*.

1. Letter of Count Tillieres of Feb. 27, 1624. The situation of this country is harder to obtain knowledge of than any other upon earth, because they follow here no definite course either for good or for

* *Negociations sur le mariage de Henriette de France et Charles I.* 4 Vol. No. 46—49. *Des Negociations d'Angleterre. Chambre du Levant.*

evil; but are swayed to one side or the other in everlasting change and uncertainty. This proceeds from grounds so many and different, that they are not to be unfolded in a single letter.

The Prince Charles is disgusted with the Spanish match; not so the King. The latter retains no spark of affection for Buckingham, who, however, building on the Prince, proceeds daringly.

The Puritans wish to break off the marriage with Spain, and to persecute the Catholics in England *.—The King accuses their heat and ignorance; and it is a fact that they are blinded by passion, and think only of satisfying it, without regard to the situation of affairs abroad and at home. They think the Spanish power easy to overthrow, and in their projects, take into account all chances of success, but none of failure. Men of experience and moderation disapprove these dangerous and violent plans, but generally in silence. Others are stupefied with pleasures, and think of nothing but vanities. Even the women speak of war, and many Puritan women trouble themselves not at all about the lives of their husbands and connections, if they can only satisfy their hate against Spain.

2. March 24 and 26, 1624. The heat which the

* March 12 and 16, 1629.

Prince and Buckingham introduce into public business, and the too rapid motion which they wish to impart to the Parliament, has injured them much, has frightened many members of the Parliament, and excited in the King the suspicion that they wish to take him also under guardianship. As he, however, is both cunning and timid, he will not attack them both at once, but endeavour to separate them, and then forthwith destroy the favourite.

It is uncertain whether the party of the King or that of the Prince will prevail; but whatever happens, the former is an obstacle to all good, and if he break with the Spaniards, will do them more service by his fears, than Spinola by his valour. He also fears the dangers arising from them more than those which may come from his people, whom he hates at once and despises. On the other hand, it may be said, that the first danger is distant, the other near, and that it is a grave matter to dissolve, without adequate reason, a Parliament supported by his son, who is in the vigour of life, and infinitely beloved by all.

3. May 3, 1624. The Prince gains daily reputation, glory, and goodwill from the Parliament, and also from the people. I know not whether this proceeds from sound reasons, or because he gives way much to their interests and their passions. On the

other hand, the King is daily more detested and despised: he is without power or consideration, which occasions many of his servants to forsake him. He sees this, is vexed at it, and would willingly extricate himself from his position; on the other hand, he prefers enduring any thing, to the hazarding a bold measure, for which he is himself incapable, and to which the aid of others is not forthcoming. The High Treasurer, Middlesex, (whom he loves the best, and who understands best how to suit himself to his humour,) one of the boldest and most enterprising men in England, is at this moment all but ruined, and another will hardly offer himself, in order to preserve to the King a consideration which he does not deserve. Yet all business is still laid before him, and as he knows that this is only done for shew, he endeavours to revenge himself by impeding what is good and advancing what is evil.

The Parliament, which is aware of these disorders, and how the Prince endeavours to oppose his father, and to bring about a war with Spain, supports his schemes, and demands at the same time much from him, which he would disapprove, if he were King, as for example, the persecution of the unoffending Catholics. If, however, they could satisfy their passions, they would trouble themselves little about the rest.

4. The French ambassador in London, Effiat, to the King of France, July 31, 1624. Buckingham has recovered his power over the King; the latter lets him do what he will, and sees but through his eyes. The Prince honours him not as a favourite, but as a man upon whom his entire fortune depends. The ministers, once almost his servants or raised by his means, are subject to him, and if any one fails to recognize this relative position, he is overthrown, as in the treasurer's case.

Buckingham had caused this man (Cranfield) to be made Earl of Middlesex, had given him his cousin in marriage, in order to bind him faster to himself, and had sought to confirm him in all ways in the King's favour. During the Duke's absence, however, in Spain, and the subsequent embarrassments, Middlesex sought to work against him, and to supplant him in his place. The Prince, on the other hand, took Buckingham's part, the Parliament, devoted to him, brought the treasurer to trial, and he was, after deprivation of his office and condemnation to a fine of 500,000 livres, confined as prisoner to his house.

5. August 21, 1624. They advance, it is true, in the negotiations for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with a French Princess, but the notion of obtaining on the occasion liberty of conscience for the

Catholics is utterly impracticable; and on the other hand, it is of no less importance that Olivarez boasts aloud, that the Pope will not have the courage to furnish a dispensation to the Princess, inasmuch as in that case the Prince of Spain will march in person to Rome, and lay it under contribution.

The marriage conditions were at last concluded, and Louis XIII. promised to look to their observance. It was important and fertile in consequences that Henrietta of France gave her word (April 5, 1625) that she would allow none but Catholics in her attendance, and that her children should be brought up in that faith.

6. Father Berulle to the minister Villeauxclercs. Rome, October 2, 1624. * The Court of Rome, its conduct, its principles are very different from the previous notion and judgement which one forms of them without experience. I own that on the spot I have learnt more in a few hours, than from all former speeches and accounts. The condition of France, Spain, and Italy is the dial to which they ever look. The reputation of their government, the application and exaltation of its power, are the leading points in its councils, and of greater weight than many theological grounds. As at sea we are obliged to sail with the wind, thus is it in this court also, if we wish to reach our destination. The Pope demands that

the conditions respecting the English Catholics should be as ample in their favour on the occasion of this marriage with a French Princess, as those promised for the Spanish match; he demands that the children of Charles and Henrietta should be bred up Catholics, the Puritans thrust to the wall, and the way opened to him for the gradual re-establishment of his power in England.

LETTER LXVIII.

Accession of Charles I.—Buckingham and the Parliament.—
The Catholics and the Puritans.—Official Instruction for Mons.
de Blainville.—The Queen.—Mons. de Soubise.—The Hu-
ghenots.—Court of the Queen.—Alliances.—Richelieu.

THE old and sinful king died at last, and every one hoped that better times would commence. The French ambassador, Effiat, having spoken of that decease, without once hinting that it had been otherwise than natural, proceeds.

1. April, 1625. *Negociations sur le mariage d'Angleterre.* Vol. 49. The sadness of the new king is so great, that when added to the modesty of his former demeanour, it bears a testimony to the goodness of his disposition. He has tended the king in his last sickness as though he had been one of his servants, and at Buckingham's intercession,

(whose creatures those servants are,) has confirmed them in their situations.

The Duke's consideration has not only maintained itself, but has increased. The King, his master, gives him proofs of great good will. His views expressed in council upon the situation of the kingdom, and the French marriage, met with great approbation, and some motions not worthy of mention, were set aside immediately by his influence, and the King was petitioned to bring the project of marriage to an early conclusion.

2. Duplessis, Bishop of Mende, Almoner to the Queen of England, to the King of France. August, 1625 *. The Parliament is determined to ruin Buckingham at any price. It is only uncertain whether an assembly composed of people of such various characters and intentions, and moreover, of Englishmen, will persevere in their plan, for the English are full of levity and self-interest. If they remain firm, however, one of two things must happen: either the King will be compelled to sacrifice him, or if he support him, will excite discontent in his people, and lose reputation and power abroad

* Blainville, *Ambassades en Angleterre*. *Negociations d'Angleterre*, Vol. 51, MSS. Bib. Roy., Ch. du Levant.

and at home. I think the latter result will occur, for Buckingham has repeatedly said to me, the King would place the defence of him, the Duke, before his own interests.

It were much to be wished that the Queen treated her husband and the great men of this country with greater courtesy; there not being a person of what quality soever, to whom she has uttered a compliment. We are totally unable to obtain this from her. Perhaps letters from the Queen-mother will effect more; they must not, however, like the last, be couched in praise of what she does, but must expose to her the impropriety of her conduct. These delicacies might be good elsewhere, but not in this case, in which the Queen interprets literally the expressions of her mother, and imagines that she has her approbation for every thing she does.

3. The Bishop of Mende to Cardinal Richelieu. August 26 and 29, 1625. The King of England said yesterday:—if the Parliament were to grant no money, he had other resources. They are, however, so secret, that no man can discover them.

Buckingham caused the demands of the Parliament against the Catholics to be complied with, but was not the less an object of accusation. Deceived in his hopes, he brought about in council,

the next day, the dissolution of the Parliament, without regard to the posture of public affairs. The Duke having spoiled his chances with Spain and England, the Protestants and the Puritans will look to France for succour, and will be compelled to treat the Catholics well. A new impost is thought of: if, however, it be of small amount, it will not equal the expenses; if large, the country will make difficulties in the payment.

4. Count Tillieres to the King of France. August 28 and 31, 1625. The King of England said to me:—"You know how much I am in need of the Parliament, and how greatly it detests the Catholics. On this account they have petitioned me to execute the old laws against them and pass new ones. I refused the latter, but on account of my embarrassments, was obliged to grant the former. In the mean time, the power of execution is in my hands, and I shall make but a moderate use of it."

Buckingham pretends severity against the Catholics, in order to gain the Protestants and the Parliament. He frequently knows not what he would have, and what pleases him one hour, does the contrary the next. The extravagance of his humour, and the mental constitution of this weak king, exceed all imagination.

France is much discontented that the marriage

conditions, secret and open, in favour of the Catholics, are not observed.

5. Instruction to the French ambassador, Monsieur de Blainville, Sept. 3, 1625. In the English court there are three things well to be observed.

1. The working of the alliance with France, and the affairs of the government in general.

2. The satisfaction of the Queen.

3. The welfare of the Catholics.

These three matters must be treated at the same time and in common, and none of them, without pressing necessity, be postponed in favour of the other. If, however, it be matter of necessity to make a choice, the welfare of the state is to be preferred to every thing; yet this must be conducted with such dexterity, that the English may not believe that his majesty would give up the two latter points, provided the first were safe. It is also possible that what is now treated as a subordinate matter, may in time become a capital one.

You must endeavour to win, and to moderate the Duke of Buckingham. The Puritans hate the Catholic religion, and would fain, even at the risk of their own destruction, extirpate the Catholics. Against such people one may speak with freedom; for they fly in the face of the King's will, and the established religion; reject all church government,

and would fain, having first subverted the latter, undermine also the dignity of the King. Inasmuch, however, as several great men are devoted to this party, you must only speak to the King on this without witnesses, and must excite Buckingham against his enemies.

In the English court (as in others) there are various parties. Prudence prescribes to a foreign ambassador to favour none exclusively, in order to preserve influence over all. If he be obliged, however, to decide for one, he will act wisely to choose that from which he can promise himself the greatest profit. Even in this case, however, he should avoid to excite suspicion in the others, or so to break with them that a reconciliation may be utterly impossible. Take good observance of this, judge not lightly of the views of men, trust not every report, as many originate in hate and envy.

Enquire into the character of the most influential men. The Keeper of the Great Seal is a man of mild disposition *; the Chancellor of the Treasury † is held for a friend of the Catholics, the Lord Pembroke is one of the most considerable men in the country, and is, as it would seem, head of the Pu-

* Sir T. Coventry. [Tr.]

† Lord Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough. [Tr.]

ritans; he should not be neglected. With the Spanish Ambassador you should live on a good footing to all appearance; but in fact, do him as much disservice as possible. On the other hand, endeavour generally to work in favour of the Hollanders, only not for the conclusion of an armistice with Spain. The friendship with Scotland is to be preserved. In all transactions you should observe much respect, but at the same time, shew courage where necessary.

In a supplement to this instruction, of September 17, 1625, we find the following:—You should make complaint that the Catholics are not treated according to the promises of the King, and the conditions of the marriage, that all the laws against them are put in force and others made, and the latter, through the influence alone of individuals, without any compulsion from the Parliament. The King promised that the Catholics should be enabled to profess their religion, and should not be disturbed in regard to their persons or properties; they have in no respect deserved new persecution by any misdeeds; but Buckingham has sacrificed them, for the purpose of himself escaping enquiry into all kinds of malversation. You must express distinctly the dissatisfaction of the King of France hereupon, but so

arrange your expressions that a prospect of a reconciliation with Buckingham may remain.

6. The Bishop of Mende to Villeauxclercs. September 22, 1625. Buckingham has spoken of France with so little respect, and treated the Catholics with such severity, that I consider him not mad enough to betake himself to Paris, although his passion urges him to start for that city. (*Quoique sa passion le porte pour s'y acheminer.*)

7. The King of France to Mons. de Blainville. October 21, 1625. If Buckingham were come to Paris, he would have prepared for himself an evil reception. Inasmuch, however, as his presumption is great, and he is prepared, perhaps, to carry through that project at any price, and wishes to gain me over to his views, do not take from him every hope of success. Rather say to him:—as he is so powerful and so well inclined towards me, he ought to gain for himself the glory of the conclusion of a treaty, (between England and France,) and afterwards come to me and enjoy a good reception.

It is for the rest a perversion of facts to compare the treatment of the Catholics in England with that of the Huguenots in France: the former suffer without having committed crime, the latter rise in insurrection and break the laws of civil obedience.

8. Mons. de Blainville to the King of France. October 22, 1625. I have had an audience of King Charles. In respect to the affair of the Catholics, he said:—I am astonished that the King of France should wish to mix himself up in the affairs of my kingdom, and to know what I have to order my subjects. If he loves me, (as it becomes him to do,) he will find good every thing that I direct, nor is it any just subject of complaint if I bring to application old statutes, following the wish of my parliament and my subjects.

After I, the ambassador, had endeavoured to controvert this, the King continued:—"In the treaty there is a condition favourable to me; for it is said, 'that I am bound to leave the Catholics in quiet, it being premised that they conduct themselves discreetly, and remain within the limits of their duty.' It now, however, stands with me to interpret their mode of life, and if I disapprove it, I am empowered to proceed with severity against the transgressors, without affording any occasion to the King of France to trouble himself thereupon." He also, at that time, caused me to be assured, through the mouth of one of his ministers, that he laid stress only on the secret point in order to obtain the dispensation from Rome.

I remarked hereupon:—how firmly the French ministers denied the having said or promised any thing in reference to this article, that it was, moreover, like all the others written down and ratified.

The King then proceeded to what concerned her Majesty, and said:—"I understand that the King of France troubles himself about domestic affairs, and that which passes between man and wife. He has a bad opinion of me, as though I wished to withhold necessary provision from my wife; while I am determined to do in this respect every thing to which I am in duty bound, but only out of love for my wife, and not on other considerations."

I answered this as courteously as I could, and observed, that your Majesty took an interest in this matter only for the sake of King Charles's own reputation, which might well suffer somewhat, were it known that things in themselves insignificant, but conducive to the satisfaction of a young princess, were not in such a length of time brought to accomplishment.

I hereupon touched upon the controversy between the Queen and Buckingham, who wishes to place female relations of his own about her and to send

away others, and I made complaint of the reception of Soubise in England*. Charles replied:—I could never have believed that the King of France had such an ill opinion of me as to think that I could forsake in his need one of my own faith, and one so much beloved by my people. I thought, instead of reproaches, to have merited thanks, as having done very little for Soubise, and having received, it is true, his ships in my harbours, but not his person in my court. It is true, I would not that those ships should again set sail to excite new troubles in France; on the other hand, however, the King ought to give peace to his subjects, in order to be better able to make war on his enemies, &c. I replied:—according to strict right he might certainly afford a refuge to Soubise, yet he should not forget that similar unacceptable measures might be adopted with regard to himself in France, on occasions of greater importance. There was also much ground for comment on his conduct, should he choose to deal with your Majesty otherwise than with a great King and his brother. Inasmuch, however, as the person of Soubise was held by him in such affection, I would speak no further on that subject.

* Soubise had rebelled, and had been forced to fly from France.

In conclusion, King Charles said :—he was sorry that so excellent a man as myself had undertaken so bad a commission, and that he much wished to give me all satisfaction in my own person.

Buckingham says he will go to Holland and conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the States General, Sweden, and Denmark. If France would take part in it, well ; if not, England would bring it to pass, and bear off the glory of it alone. Some say that Buckingham wishes by this means to gain over the Puritans and the Parliament, and to marry his daughter to a son of the King of Bohemia ; others think he intends to overthrow the Prince of Orange, that the Hollanders may take for protector the King of England or the King of Bohemia.

9. Monsieur de Blainville, to the King of France. October 26, 1625 :—Every thing in this state is regulated by Buckingham's interests. He has at this moment two opposite notions in his head with respect to the attainment of his ends. In the first place, he would fain sow dissension between the King his master and your Majesty, that in case of need he may be able entirely to dissolve the alliance, and to shew the English that he only furthered the French marriage in order to hinder the Spanish. By a clumsy subtlety (*subtilité grossière*) he chooses to leave all things undecided, in order to modify them

afterwards according to his pleasure for good or evil. Without regard to my representations he has disarmed the Catholics, and taxed them twice as high as the Protestants; he treats them not as subjects but as strangers, and nevertheless assures me daily, that he wishes to impede the execution of those statutes.

The second notion of Buckingham is by apparent indifference towards France, by vaunting the power of England, and the alliance with Holland and Sweden, to bring your Majesty to the conclusion of an offensive alliance, and by this means also to ruin the Puritans.—During this hesitation, however, time and money are fruitlessly spent.

10. The King of France to Blainville. November 8 and December 6, 1625:—I have no thought of suppressing the reformed religion, but will act against the seditious as appears to me right. Those Huguenots who live quietly, enjoy all the liberties assured to them; those were doubly wrong who rebelled at the moment when I had taken up arms in defence of their co-religionists. In England they do not punish the crimes of the Catholics, but are determined to extirpate their faith. All without exception are there persecuted, while I offer pardon to all who return to their duty.

11. Monsieur de Blainville to the King of France.

November 27, 1625, and January 4, 1626. King Charles blames the preparations against Rochelle, and says:—Kings should above all things beware how they cut off from their subjects the hope of an escape from destruction.—He declared further, he would appoint persons at his pleasure to the court of his wife. I observed that according to the marriage articles and the solemn oath pledged by the Queen into the hands of the Nuntio, these persons must be Catholics. Hereupon the King replied:—My wife could not in such early times rightly pledge herself, nor does it stand in her power to fulfil that condition, for I will by fair means or other carry through my own views.

With regard to the point last mentioned, as well as others, the wish of Buckingham to gain popular favour was concerned. How distinguished Richelieu appears in comparison. In all his instructions for the French ambassadors, superiority of intellect, dexterity, force, and discretion to boot, are manifest. He is indifferent about trifles, treats all great matters greatly, never looks for importance in insignificant things, and always knows how to hit the decisive point, upon which every thing in public affairs depends.

LETTER LXIX.

Reports of Monsieur De Seneterre.—The King and the Queen of England.—The Scotch.—Strafford.—Dissolution of Parliament.—Loans.—Laud.—Commutations in London.—Disturbances in the Provinces.—Financial Measures.—Strafford.

THE reports of the French ambassadors from London for the reign of Charles I., extant in the different collections of MSS. in the Paris Library, are unfortunately not complete. Nine years are therefore here passed over, fortunately not the most important for the history of the English rebellion. The following fragments from the dispatches of Monsieur De Seneterre prepare us for the time when open hostilities commenced*.

April 4 and 12, May 24, 1635. The death of the High Treasurer, the Earl of Portland, ought to raise the influence of Laud, and very likely also of

* Seneterre Ambassades en Angleterre. Vol. I. fol. MSS. de St. Germain. Vol. 773.

the Queen, who had frequent controversies with him. Yet it is not likely that any one person will be appointed to undertake the conduct of affairs: for the Archbishop, in spite of his high consideration, has only lately come into activity, and proceeds with great caution; and in the same manner, the Queen also is only beginning for the first time to mix herself less in public affairs. Although her husband is singularly attached to her, she is yet compelled, in observance of his humour, to take many precautions, and to proceed with much gentleness.

France endeavours to involve England in hostilities with Spain.—Charles I., on the contrary, wishes to live on good terms with both powers, to maintain his reputation, and to enable the Elector to recover the Palatinate without taking up arms for the purpose. June 13, 1635.

October 30, 1635. The will of the Queen is perfect, but her power not equally great: for she has to do with a man, who tells her every thing indeed, but exacts that she should be of his opinion, which he takes care previously to impart to her. Would she contradict him, she must seek out all manner of devices and turns, of which he may not be sensible, but to which she has not hitherto condescended to resort. The King has no inclination

towards us, and is more jealous of the greatness of France than of Spain.

His ministers think only of internal affairs and their own. They flatter their master on the subject of the taxes, which they impose for the maintenance of the fleet. They are besides disunited among themselves, and one fears the growing power of the other. The Queen told me, she would do her best, but had rather it were known that she wanted power than the affection of her husband and people.

Seneterre writes later. July 22, 1637. The Archbishop of Canterbury chastises the Puritans, and has caused a Doctor, as also two Puritans*, to lose their ears, for the having written and preached after their fashion. The people has wiped up their blood like that of martyrs, and has strown flowers on their way. The Bishop of Lincoln, (Williams,) a learned and rich man, who is considered as head of the Puritans, has come under heavy fines, is deprived of his office, and has been shut up in the Tower.

In a letter from a certain Pujol to the Duke of Olivarez, of May 28, 1637, we find:—The King of England is available neither for good nor ill. He

* Bastwicke, Prynne, and Burton. [Tr.]

contents himself with consulting all about him, and concluding nothing ; his only wish turns upon peace and rest. Far removed from working for the peace of Spain, he would prefer that she were involved in continual disturbances, out of which he calculates upon deriving great advantage to himself.

The following is extracted from the dispatches, very copious in information, of Monsieur De Montreuil, of the years 1640 and 1641. St. Germain MSS. 765.

1. April 25, 1640. For the last five or six days the Earls of Morton and Traquhair have endeavoured to move the King to some reconciliation with the Scots, but the latter replied, I will chastise them even though I should lose England therefore. The Earl of Hamilton is considered as the source of these councils.

2. May 17, 1640. It seems that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Strafford) wished from the beginning that matters should thus be driven to the utmost. For he wished the King to insist on a grant of money, before any progress should be made in the removal of the abuses which had grown up ; a proceeding at variance with that of the preceding Parliament. No less did he vote for the violent measure of demanding twelve subsidies, only five at the utmost having been previously granted. He

either entertained the view of thus gaining consideration with the King, or of moving him to an alliance with the Spaniards, in whose confidence he is.

3. May 24, 1640. The King had scarcely dissolved the Parliament, when he found himself embarrassed for the payment of his troops, and summoned on this account, on May 18, the Mayor and Aldermen to his presence. He demanded from them a loan of two millions, and gave them time till Thursday to deliberate on the ways and means. As soon, however, as Sunday, he summoned them again, when the Mayor dexterously made answer, that he was exerting himself in every way to raise the money, but submitted to His Majesty's consideration whether it were advisable in the present posture of affairs to use violence against the people. The King hereupon sent for four of the twenty-four aldermen of London, and ordered them to name to him the richest people. Instead of doing this they answered, that it was impossible, inasmuch as every thing was fluctuating and changing, and it could not in fact be known what merchants were rich and what poor. This answer so displeased the King, that he caused them to be shut up in separate prisons.

The three Scottish deputies, who were put in the Tower with Lord Loudun, and then set free, have

been again, two days previous to the arrest of the aldermen, arrested, no one being able to discover any fresh reason therefore.

The King has, moreover, caused two members of the lower House, the Lord Crie, and the Provost (prevôt) of York, to be thrown into prison, the one on account of his freedom of speech in Parliament, the other because he refused to pay the ship money.

While the King was thus acting, many placards were discovered, especially on the old Exchange, against such a course of measures. One of these ran: "Companions who would one day be masters, masters who would preserve your liberties, come on Monday in arms to St. George's fields, in order to destroy (détruire) the Archbishop of Canterbury." Although it be not likely that they could thus have published this design, if they had been serious in undertaking it, the King caused the place designated, to be occupied on Monday with some troops of militia, who remained there till late at night. They had, however, scarcely withdrawn, when from 4 to 500 of the lowest classes, armed and unarmed, endeavoured to break into the house of the Archbishop, and to gain violent possession thereof. He escaped meanwhile to Whitehall, and although some shots were fired upon his people, the

mob withdrew, as soon as they learnt that Laud was no longer in the palace. They have, it is true, arrested five or six of the parties, but of the lowest rabble, whose evidence can hardly bring to light the essence of the plot. I am assured that they will all be hanged, a measure which has been applied with success in similar cases.

On Tuesday, May 22, a similar placard was found on the Exchange, in which they promise to return in greater numbers; yet it is already late, and I hear nothing of it. Various ballads in rhyme, have been also scattered abroad, in which it runs, for example: Let Charles and Maria do what they will, we will yet *destroy* the Archbishop of Canterbury. This is the expression, (*detruirons*), like the Doctor *Lemme* (Lamb). This Doctor was stoned some eight years since.

They begin to accuse Strafford, as having driven things to these extremities, without the means to restrain the people. They hardly trust the London militia, and have ordered up other troops from the neighbourhood, with all speed.

It is nevertheless not probable that things will come to extremities, as the English Catholics believe, and perhaps wish, the Puritans to throw the blame on the Spaniards, and the ministers of the Queen-mother. The former have specially promoted

the dissolution of Parliament in order to make the King utterly dependent upon them and their pecuniary aid, and the latter trusted to keep a good part of that aid to themselves.

May 31, 1640. Page 89. Thursday, May 24, the London militia was under arms to prevent the disorders which were apprehended in the city, and to protect the Archbishop, threatened in new placards. As the latter dwells at the end of a suburb, the greater part of the militia was drawn off thither by nightfall; on which account the recently collected rioters did not direct themselves on this point, but towards the new prison, in which the parties arrested in the first tumult were confined. They broke in the doors, liberated the above, and then betook themselves to other prisons, where they found in particular, two of the aldermen who had been arrested on the Sunday. These, however, declared they would only be set free by those who had placed them there, and that if they should be taken out by force, they would, of their own accord, return to prison. The rioters thereupon went on to another prison, and set free some of the inmates.

Whether the militia heard or chose to hear nothing of these proceedings, it is certain that the rioters no where met with resistance, and they left them

throughout time enough to carry all their plans into execution. It was only when, after breaking open the prisons, they marched further on, that the soldiers arrived, and out of the numberless rioters concerned, arrested none but a poor blacksmith, who was discharged as innocent.

These disturbances, principally nocturnal, were followed the next day by a false alarm that 4000 persons were assembled at Greenwich; soldiers having, however, been dispatched thither, it was found that these people had been assembled by beat of drum to work on the roads.

In the cry there arose a third subject of alarm, inasmuch as placards had been distributed to the following effect: "that Whitehall should be no longer a place of safety for the Archbishop—we will carry him off in the night. We will drive the Pope and the Devil out of St. James's (the residence of the Queen-mother). Since this, Whitehall and St. James's have been more closely watched, and the Queen-mother has not once ventured to go to bed.

These trifling movements ought not to surprise the ministers at a moment when they are suddenly passing from an extreme of moderation to one of severity; they are nevertheless fallen into such consternation, that they have set free the four old Aldermen, the two Scotch deputies, and the two members

of the Commons, and are thinking, seriously or to appearance, of bringing about a reconciliation with the Scotch. It is not certainly known whether these councils emanate from Strafford, who, perhaps, after having used untimely violence, wishes now to adopt a system of moderation, which undermines the reputation of his master. He first betook himself to force without the means of force, and after the failure of his attempt, wishes to bring the King to accede to every demand of the people.

It is, however, probable that the new policy does not originate with Strafford. His nature is averse to all moderation, he would be ashamed to strike now into a directly contrary course, and a severe sickness has prevented him for ten days past from attending the council. The Earls Holland, Pembroke, and others have complained to the King of the ill behaviour of Strafford, for which reason some think he will recover his health sooner than his authority; others, however, assure that he will soon obtain as much influence as ever. He is still devoted to the Spanish party.

5. June 7, 1640. P. 91. The seditions which threw this court into consternation begin to be appeased, and one of the ringleaders was hanged and quartered last Saturday. He had been wounded at the attack on the Archbishop's house, and in the

endeavour to obtain surgical treatment, was discovered by the surgeon.

Last Friday and Saturday fresh placards were displayed in public places, exhorting all to fast and set themselves in order in these days, inasmuch as much blood would flow on Sunday. Yet no further mischief has resulted, than that the militia was drawn out in arms, chains drawn across the streets, and the guard strengthened at the residence of the Queen-mother. The Mayor of London has bound over all masters to answer for their journeymen and apprentices, under whose names the mutineers had assembled, so that all fear is nearly at an end, and the only trouble that remains is that of raising money. This, however, will be a serious one, as they do not dare to use compulsion, nor will the city lend the King more than £50,000, if it even should do so much.

June 14, 1640. The Marquess Hamilton, Laud, and Strafford were yesterday together the whole afternoon, and this afternoon the Governor of the Tower has conveyed Lord Loudun to Whitehall; nay, they will perhaps send him to Scotland to bring about a composition, as the English shew so little inclination to the war. Disturbances occur also almost daily in the provinces (generally on account of the soldiers); the men of Essex, Kent, and other

places refuse the sea service; the militia of Oxford will serve neither by land or water; the soldiers in Somersetshire have ill-treated their Colonel, Laneford; those raised in Dorsetshire have thought fit to kill and hang up by the legs their Lieutenant, Moore, who treated them with some severity; in Suffolk certain soldiers have worn their shirts over their other clothes, and thus represented and ridiculed the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the higher ecclesiastical court of law.

7. July 26, 1640. P. 98. The artisans are daily dragged from their shops and forced on board of the fleet destined for Scotland, warlike stores are daily embarked, soldiers sent to the frontiers, and the generals preparing for departure. On the other hand, it is believed, that Lord Loudun is treating in Edinburgh for a reconciliation, and that Lord Traquair will soon follow him. In fact, such is the want of money and means of war, that the king will be obliged in any case to conclude a peace, and only makes it a point of honour to do so, while he is yet in arms for war.

Of the money which he has caused to be coined in the Tower, two-thirds have been necessarily issued, and only £40,000 remains. Among all the failures of Strafford this is the most blamed, because he excited the people for the sake of a small advantage of

the moment, and occasioned to the king the loss of greater revenues connected with this expenditure. The present lenity appears almost more impolitic, as it so much reduces the original gain, but leaves ground for complaint and for apprehension of further violence.

It is proposed to mix two-thirds of copper with that £40,000, and thus to coin out of it £160,000 ; but, not to reckon that the nation disapproves the present measures, the citizens now proclaim aloud, that they will never take the adulterated coin at the affixed value.

This project is nevertheless pushed forward by Strafford without regard to strenuous opposition, especially on the part of Monsieur *Rhoo*, which, as is frequently the case, threw Strafford into great wrath. As an instance, he called the mayor of London, a week since, a traitor, and summoned him before the Star-chamber for not levying the ship-money.

8. August 2, 1640. They no longer talk of sending Lord Traquhair to the Scots. Nay, they will not even vouchsafe them an answer. This, perhaps, urges the generals to set out ; but what will they be able to undertake, without money and with soldiers who are obstinate in the resolution not to fight?—an epidemic which has already seized the Irish army.

Four thousand men have been raised, as is said, in the neighbourhood of London, and (*pas tout a fait reduits au baton*) not utterly reduced to sticks, like those of Selby, yet they did not venture to give them powder or swords.

Eight hundred raised in Bedfordshire are utterly dispersed, and the Earl of Holland who was commissioned to talk them over into resuming their arms, received counter orders, so that they retain their liberty.

The King has in vain expected that the city of London would pay him a good sum to prevent him from carrying through that scheme of adulterating the coin, but now finds himself compelled to demand that which, in his opinion, they should have freely offered. He therefore summoned, yesterday was a week, the mayor of London and some aldermen to Whitehall, and told them in the presence of his counsel, "he was dissatisfied with their late conduct, and they would do well to give him cause to forget it, by bringing that to pass which he would now demand, and would afterwards more fully expound. On the following day he sent, through Cottington, a letter to the city council, (in which sit the mayor, the sheriffs, the aldermen, and two deputies for each parish,) and demanded a loan of two millions sterling, on the security of the customs

for principal and interest, and under a promise in such case, that the coinage should not be tampered with. "Should this be refused, he would be compelled to resort to extreme measures, and to undertake things, which he should be loath to do and they to suffer."

The mayor having read this letter, called upon those present to satisfy the wish of the King; they nevertheless, after putting it to the vote, returned for answer; "they could not do what the King desired."

9. August 9, 1640. P. 105. It is thought here that it will be difficult to bring the Scots to an accord, as they see that the aversion of the English to this war daily increases. Especially do the soldiers abandon their officers, or insult them in such a manner that the latter are forced to make off. James Ashley, the general of the infantry, writes therefore—that he can no longer controul them, and the troops which are maintained by the King will only serve to strengthen the Scotch. His regiment, and that of the Earl Newport, have all but disbanded themselves; nay, it is related, that he has been obliged to disarm the soldiers who yet remain, and that they have been doing their exercise with sticks. A Catholic lieutenant, Ivers, has been killed by his men, for refusing to accompany them to a preaching.

The militia of Suffolk, Dorsetshire, and those neighbourhoods, persist in refusing to embark.

10. August 23, 1640. P. 109. Cottington has demanded of the foreign merchants, resident in London, a loan of 200,000 livres, upon the security of the Customs' revenue, but, as in the case of the English merchants, has received for answer,—they had for the present no money, would, however, lend the King that sum, if he would cause the English to pay up to them all the money which was owed them. Cottington rejoined : he dared not carry such answer to the King, who had reckoned upon this money as if it lay already in his coffers. They yet persisted in their answer.

11. August 30, 1640. P. 113. The King is proceeding towards Scotland, rather for the purpose of bringing about an accommodation than of levying war ; which, without money and good-will on the part of the soldiers, is not possible. Yet Laud and Strafford endeavour to drive things to extremity, inasmuch as the King cannot pacify England and Scotland without a Parliament ; and if that were convened their fortunes and lives would be in extreme peril.

12. September 13, 1640. Want of money, and disinclination on the part of the soldiers to embark, has at last compelled them to disband the naval

force. They have offered the officers that they should accompany the expedition to Scotland as private soldiers, and some have accepted. Catholics and Puritans, in all other respects at variance, believe alike in the probability of an early accommodation with the Scots; yet the King has promised the Archbishop, Strafford, and even the Queen, to reject any such, unless it be very advantageous to him in its provisions.

Last Saturday, Cottington came down on the members of the East India Company who had assembled for the disposal of their pepper, and had resolved to make it over to certain private persons for a sum of 700,000 francs payable by four instalments. Cottington told them—he laid embargo on all this pepper in the name of the King, who would keep it on the conditions above mentioned. That for the rest, the King was under no obligation thereto, but that they rather owed him thanks, inasmuch, as he would spend the proceeds of this pepper for the preservation of their lives, properties, and liberties, of all which the Scots looked to despoil them. Cottington took this opportunity to speak of the latter in very injurious fashion, but received from the merchants nothing but the answer: as all the shareholders were not present, but all were interested, no resolution could then with prudence be adopted.

Lord Strafford seeks to prevent a reconciliation with the Scots, his fall being in such case inevitable.

13. Oct. 4, 1640. The popular discontent shews itself more palpably every day in the petitions which pour in from all sides on the King, and almost in the same terms press for the convocation of a parliament. The representation of the Londoners was signed by nearly all the respectable citizens, so that it will be very hard to baffle this petition.

Strafford received last Friday the order of the garter. Every one is surprised that he, instead of seeking to diminish the hate and envy which are entertained towards him, should seek in this manner to raise them still higher.

LETTER LXX.

Trial of Strafford.

NECESSITY and obligation had at last compelled the King to convene the Parliament, and one of its first measures was the impeachment of Strafford. The official reports of the French ambassador, Montrenil, contain several particular observations upon this trial which I here insert in the order of time of the occurrences.

April 11, 1641. Strafford displays in his defence great eloquence and extraordinary presence of mind. Yet he by no means always justifies his actions, and adduces rather specious than satisfactory grounds of defence.

April 20, 1641. The Lords ordered that the advocates should be in readiness to-day, Strafford also was brought into the House; but the Lower House would send no one, and persists in its resolution to carry through its bills, and to place the judges under

the necessity of condemning the Earl, if not for his own delinquency, at least because of the consequences which would follow his liberation.

May 19, 1641. It is evident that the King is bent upon saving Strafford; on this account he seeks to draw forces from York, allows Sir John Suckling to levy troops, ostensibly for Spain*, in reality for the Earl, and bestirs himself to introduce persons in his confidence into the Tower, that they may set the Earl free. All these measures, real or reported, connected with the sudden determination of the Queen to betake herself to Hampton Court, or, as is believed, to Portsmouth, have induced the Parliament to dispatch the Earl of Pembroke to the King, and to desire him among other things: to forbid the attendants of the Queen, as also his own, to absent themselves from court without his and the Parliament's leave, or in any case to leave England; partly for the purpose of detecting and recognizing delinquents, and partly to prevent them from carrying other plans into execution.

The Lower House wrote at the same time to the leaders to keep a watchful eye on all machinations,

* Probably a mistake of the Ambassador's. The troops raised were alleged to be for the service of Portugal. V. May's History of the Parliament. [Tr.]

and to the army to inform it that it would soon receive its arrears of pay. They further determined that the King could not prorogue or dissolve the Parliament without its consent, and that the introduction of foreign troops into the country was high treason.

The people come down daily to the House of Parliament, and demand aloud the death of Strafford. The King will soon see all means of saving him disappear.

May, 1641. The King assembled this morning a council of conscience, to satisfy himself whether he ought to give his consent to the death of a man whom he considered guiltless, and in the afternoon he held a long consultation with the lawyers, whether Strafford were guilty. In spite of all, he could hardly resolve to impart his consent.

On the Tuesday of last week, the Parliament of Wales sent a letter to the Parliament, with an entreaty that they would not execute Strafford, but banish him for ever. The Commons, who had previous intelligence of this, and were determined not to comply, resolved not to assemble.

LETTER LXXI.

Instruction for the French Ambassador Sabran.—The Queen.—The Prince Palatine.—The Scotch.—Manchester and Cromwell.—Laud's death.—Self-denying bill.—Levies.—City of London.

THE English rebellion would have made greater impression on the European continent, if the unhappy thirty years' war had not engrossed all its energies.

France however sent, in May 1644, Monsieur de Sabran to England with the following instructions*. He was to take the place of Creçy, who was become so suspected by the Parliament, that he could no longer do any service. Sabran was to favour the King in all and every thing towards his restoration to his legitimate power, yet to proceed with such dexterity, as to appear rather as a mediator than a partisan, and not to have ventured too far in case of

* Livres des negociations de Monsieur de Sabran, Envoyé Resident en Angleterre. Mai 17, 1644. Commencé par moi, Leonard Cheylieu, Secrétaire, de mon dit Sieur. Bib. Roy. MSS. 9333.

a change. It was to be hoped that God would support the just cause of the King, and it was fitting to work as hitherto in this sense, and yet not as though it were wished to raise him to absolute sovereignty, as, on the contrary, the laws were rather to be upheld as a counterpoise to the excessive power of the King, in order to appease the public mind and suppress the troubles.

The King was to be put in mind of the advantage of an alliance with France, and that he had already obtained from thence in money and munitions of war the amount of 300,000 crowns. Sabran was further instructed to alienate the King from the Spaniards, to whom the King was inclined out of hate towards Cardinal Richelieu. He was to enquire into the counsels of the court and the minister; never to afford the Parliament occasion for suspicion, inasmuch as without the Parliament nothing was to be done; to live on good terms with the Catholics, yet so as the King's interests should not suffer thereby; to warn the Scots not to suffer their country to sink into mere dependence upon England; to distrust the Puritans, who fear the existence of monarchy and all regular Government; to counteract the notion of a republic, or of an union with Holland.

Many of the English, meanwhile, mistrusted the fair dealing of France, and in a writing of the time

we find :—the interest which France affects to take in putting an end to our dissensions is so unusually great, that it is not credible; so ill-timed as to become suspected, and bears no resemblance to her earlier conduct (pages 12—15). To what purpose do we need the interference of strangers? Are they anywise better informed of our affairs, more capable of inventing means of assistance, or more sensible of the evil we endure? Do they mean to exhort or compel us? The one is superfluous, the other dangerous, &c.

In later letters of June 10, 17, and 24, 1644, the French minister, Brienne, asserts :—it is a great evil that a political feud should be made into a religious war. I am equally much afraid of an unlimited Monarchy and of a Republic, in which the people would obtain the sovereignty, or rather the most audacious the chief influence. The King is, alas! too weak, and surrounded by ministers who always nourish his fears. They seek to preserve the Monarchy and the Catholics, but are careful not to offend those who may one day become masters.

Sabran answers in several letters, June 4 and 29. The upper House is aware that it has involved itself in a labyrinth, and is become utterly dependent upon the more numerous Commons. Both houses, however, have made over the power totally to the refuse

of both nations. The King will be deposed, or more limited in power than the Doge of Venice. The Parliament, as the stronger body, wishes for no accommodation, but rather for a decision by arms. The King can win but little by a battle, but may lose all. July 22. His army of 8000 men is ill armed and ill paid, and the principal people are at the same time weary of suffering.

The Queen has taken flight, and things are gone so far, that they have removed from the palace, and sold the moveables of her women. August 4 and 20. No one is safe here from popular commotion and violence.

In later letters of Brienne from Paris, we find:— We are about to remove from about the Queen of England all restless and factious persons*, which is not only conducive to our own interests, but also affords the Parliament a proof of our good will. The latter ought to take our services generally in the more friendly manner, as our friends and enemies (for example, the Hollanders) are the same. The public mind in England is, alas, in a contrary state; all contend for the sovereignty, which does not admit of division. Their republic (which would be a democracy) is more to be dreaded than a monarchy, which latter

* She had betaken herself to Paris. [Tr.]

cannot easily extend itself into an unlimited government. You must shew to the Scotch that their interest demands a separation of the two countries, whether a king be maintained or a republic be established.

Sabran writes hereupon :—Some entertain a plan for conveying the crown to the Prince Palatine, and to make an alliance with Spain for the cession of the Palatinate, against France. September 1, and November 17, 1644. This design was, however, soon abandoned.

The *Chancellor* of Scotland* said to me, in a confidential conversation :—The Scotch would never agree to a resolution to the prejudice of the King and his crown. That it were horrible to think of such a thing, but that they could not hinder the English Parliament from limiting the power which the King had wished to extend beyond all usage.

A cotemporary report is of different tenor†. All Scotland is puritanical; by consequence, therefore, rebellious and hostile to the name and dignity of a King. The bishops are dependent upon him who appoints them, but the preachers upon the

* The Earl of Loudun. Forced upon the King as Chancellor of Scotland in 1641. V. Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 37. [Tr.]

† Revolte de l'Ecosse contre le Roi, Chap. 1, No. 741. MSS. de St. Germain.

people ; the first are for the King and obedience, the latter for the people and confusion. Brienne answers, January 6, 1645, we must flatter and gain over the Scotch, whether for the purpose of serving the King of England, or using them against him, if he were to regain too much power, and should become able to annoy us; or to set them in motion against the Parliament, if the latter should establish a republic. Endeavour to gain over the Chancellor of Scotland himself with money. He will, on two grounds, not be offended thereby :—first, because he is a Scotchman, which is as much as to say he is self interested ; secondly, because the money comes from France, from which country they have a prescriptive usage of deriving benefits.

Sabran complains in several dispatches that he can find no redress or aid against the atrocious habits of piracy. The Parliament, he writes, December 22, 1644, believes, that it has no occasion to fear any one, and that piracy will produce more than commerce. They see no salvation except in disorder, and further it accordingly at home and abroad.

In the dispute between Manchester and Cromwell*, the Lower House would let nothing be deferred

* See for this dispute, Clarendon's Hist. of Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 13. Oxford edition. [Tr.]

to the Lords, which led on to the sudden and astounding resolution for taking away all places from the latter, under the pretext that all the members of the Lower House were to lay down all such.

The affair of Laud was meanwhile brought before the Lords. Out of twenty Lords present in London nine only appeared, and five of these voted his execution, principally because they wished to shew complaisance in a matter which was indifferent to them, and because they knew it was beyond their power to set him free.

No less indecently was the self-denying bill hurried through the House, April 6, 1645. Out of twenty Lords only, of whom scarcely a fourth are in reality favourable to the Bill, the voices were divided, so that the question remained undecided; but Lord Ce.* (who is said to have had special reason for setting himself well with the Commons) drew the proxy of an absent Peer from his pocket, which was admitted. As, however, Lord Essex produced one, for the sake of appearance, of contrary tendency, it was said, that the Peer was a Catholic and a fugitive in Ireland; and thus that single vote decided the question.

The levies are driven forward with violence.

* Query, the Lord Say and Seal. [Tr.]

People are seized in the streets, and even the French are not spared. July 8, 1645.

The officers of the city of London are now the subtlest and strongest; they manage the levies and payments. The Commons do not venture to offend them, and the Lords are humble servants to both. July 27, 1645.

LETTER LXXII.

The Ambassadors, Montreuil and Grignon. — Negotiations for peace. — Plan of the King for betaking himself to the Scots. — Proposals of the Independents. — Prince Rupert. — Montreuil in Scotland. — Charles in the Scottish camp. — Complaints of breach of faith. — Negotiations. — Surrender of the King. — Agitators. — Cromwell. — Position of France. — Queen Henrietta. — The Independents and the Scotch. — Scottish clergy. — Plans of campaign. — Negotiations with the King. — Situation of parties. — Defeat of the Scotch. — The Levellers. — The Army and Parliament. — Carrying off of the King. — The Army in London. — Trial and execution of the King. — New Government.

AFTER the war had done away with all intercourse between the party of the king and that of the parliament, France sent two ambassadors to England, of whom one, Monsieur de Montreuil, remained with Charles—the other, Monsieur de Grignon, in London *. Their reports, and the answers of Brienne,

* *Negotiations de Monsieur de Montreuil pres du Roi de la Grande Bretagne. St. Germain, 1184. Grignon ambassades en Angleterre. St. Germain, 776. Some of these are printed in Thurlowe's State Papers.*

the French minister for foreign affairs, afford many illustrations of the history of the years 1645 down to 1649.

1. Letter of Montreuil, of August 10 and 31, 1645. The Parliament having ordered* a fast on August 10th, I could obtain no horses for my departure; on such days it is even forbidden to travel on foot. I have now had an audience of the Scottish deputies, and spoken warmly in favour of peace. The Parliament is jealous, therefore, and fears that my mission has for its object the separation of Scotland from England. I am entirely of opinion that the King must, above all things, reconcile himself with the Scotch, and prefer the preservation of his throne to all the bishops' mitres in England. The others also wish for peace, only its conclusion is rendered difficult by the bad circumstances of the king and the jealousy of the country.

2. Letter of Montreuil, of September 23 and Oct. 12, 1645.—All parties are inclined to peace; the weaker, because it is necessary to them; the stronger, and these are the Independents, because they fear that the others might get beforehand with them; the King, because Montrose has been beaten, and Bristol taken. On this account the Earl of Holland came to me, and said—"the King has no other means of salvation but to throw himself into the arms of the

Scottish army." I spoke upon this subject with the Earl Balmerino, as if the idea came from myself, and he answered, he much approved the notion, and the King would certainly be preserved should he come to them; but he feared the plan was impracticable, by reason of his distance from the Scottish army. In the meantime, nothing could be devised more salutary for him and them if he could adopt and execute such a design.

We now agreed upon this, that he should communicate his plan to the Chancellor of Scotland, and persuade him to give commission to Sir Robert Moray to broach the subject at court.

It were well to induce the Queen of England to recommend this mode of exit from the difficulty to her husband. It would have this advantage for France, that the latter making peace between two great parties, nearly equally balanced, would be able to secure to itself, with certainty, and for a continuance, the better of the two.

3. Letter of Montreuil, of November 16 and 30, 1645. There certainly exists a party in the Parliament which rejects peace, because it sees its advantage in war. The Independents offer the king peace under the following conditions:—He is to settle the affairs of the church afresh,—give away half the places,—subdue Ireland, but to agree to the tolera-

tion and establishment of their system in England. Should the parliament reject these conditions, they are willing to unite their means with those of the King, and extort compliance. I doubt, however, that the Independents seriously wish for a peace, and hold the execution of these conditions for difficult, if for nothing else, because they are already known.

It is reported, that Prince Rupert, in taking farewell of the king, has addressed lively reproaches to him; and has said to him, among other things, that he maintains about him manifest knaves and scoundrels. (*Coquins et mechans.*)

4. Letter of Montreuil, of January 1, 1646. I have found the Scottish parliament split into three parties. 1st, That of Argyle, which wishes to destroy the king and the monarchy. 2d, That of Hamilton, which declares its wishes for the maintenance of both, while it labours underhand for their destruction. 3d. That of those who, independent of either party, entertain a wish for the king and the monarchy, but do not consider themselves strong enough, or are not courageous and bold enough to adopt the necessary measures, &c.

Two days before my arrival in Scotland, they had resolved in the articles in which public matters are prepared for the parliament, that if the King should come to Scotland, they would secure his person

and deliver him to the English. All of the party of Hamilton, with the exception only of the duke and his brother, voted for this resolve, from whence the third party drew the conclusion, that they could not trust that of Hamilton, inasmuch as they only agreed with them in appearance, but in reality had an understanding with the Marquis of Argyle. The Hamiltons said to me, they were ready to pour out the last drop of their blood for the king; certain difficulties, however, which they soon began to raise thereupon, cause me to conjecture, that little is to be expected of them, as far as the King should fail to do every thing which the Scottish Parliament requires of him. The latter has, meanwhile, confirmed that preliminary resolution of the articles, in virtue of which they mean, in case the King should come among them, to seize and deliver him to the English. All his friends here counsel me to make no movement to the contrary, because by so doing, I should merely accelerate this hostile measure.

Argyle and Hamilton having told me, that the only salvation for the King was his acceptance of the earlier proposals of the Parliament, I determined to make a journey to reach him, and to lay before him the real state of circumstances. But I entreated those lords to prevent the immediate adoption of a final resolution on the part of the Parliament, for

the King will be more inclined to afford them satisfaction before he shall be irritated afresh, and certainly reduced to despair. Although Argyle and Hamilton gave me hopes, they yet either could not or would not bring anything to pass in the Parliament; and it remained settled, that the resolution above mentioned should be carried into effect in due season.

As I saw that it remained impossible for me to fulfil my purpose, I departed on the same day, but spoke once again previously with the friends of the King. They persisted in their opinion of the necessity of yielding to Argyle and Hamilton. I then asked them if they conceived the King to be lost without this, and saved with it? The wisest and most cordial expressed nothing but doubt on this subject; those who spoke more decidedly seemed to me least well-wishers to the King.

Out of 200 voices in the Parliament, some seven alone were for the King. It is true the Duke of Hamilton (together with some others) threw in a negative; but, in truth, the King has in him a dangerous enemy, who seeks out of his treason to extract proofs of his fidelity, and by protestations in favour of the King, to come by the crown for himself.—Thus there is nothing to hope for Charles; yet it is to be foreseen, that the parties of Argyle and

Hamilton will fall out, by which the third may, perhaps, obtain more power and influence.

The priests have sufficiently maltreated me in their sermons, yet the King still more; they call him a man of blood, the origin of the death of so many people, an enemy of Jesus Christ, &c.

5. Letter of Montreuil, January 10, 1646. I have seen and spoken with King Charles. He said to me, I will never give my consent to that which my people demand of me; not only because it is shameful to do for the threats of one's subjects that which one has refused to the entreaties of friends, but also, because I believe what is demanded to be contrary to my conscience, and the welfare of my states.

The King further said he thought of fleeing the kingdom. Should this design fail, he would do all that lay in his power to induce the Scottish army to convey him to Scotland; should this also fail, he must make up his mind to go to Holmby, agreeable to the determination of the English Parliament.

I am of opinion, the first mentioned plan is by far the best, and in every point of view necessary; for the Parliament will by that time have fallen into dissensions, and the throne will be far more easily restored if the King come back to it from abroad, than if he were to issue from a prison.—I only fear,

that flight will, perhaps, be no longer possible. Should the King not accept the covenant and Presbyterianism, his notion of going to Scotland is frustrate. He would find in England, if not more friends, more persons at least who do not trouble themselves about either of these matters.

The Scots wish for no contest with the English, and will end in doing whatsoever the latter demand. They will either not receive the King, or will place him in as strict confinement as the Independents wish.

All the representations, however, which I have made to the King on this subject, not having altered his resolution, I exerted myself to gain over the heads of the Scottish army, and shewed them that their covenant itself bound them never to desert their King. By supporting him, they would restore the honour of their nation, which must be stained by the resolution of Parliament for the delivering up of the King. They would, moreover, should they maintain the King, continue formidable to the Independents, upon whose friendship they never would be able to reckon.—In spite of all, there is no appearance that what myself or others say or do, will have the effect we desire.

I again endeavoured to move the King, to reconcile himself now to the English, because in the end

he would fall into their hands perforce;—he remains, however, determined, after the arrival of the commissioners, to press the Scots to afford him the security which they have promised him, and to this end to conduct him to Scotland.

I venture to maintain that, in thus acting, the King does two things which are equally against his own interest. In the first place, he offends the English by shewing fear of falling into their hands. In the second, he gives the Scots occasion to give all the greater satisfaction to the English, by delivering him up to them in despite of all his opposition.

The King, writes Montreuil later, demands of me publicly to declare:—1st, That he has justly refused the demands of the Scots, and especially that for the establishment of Presbyterianism.

2d. That he is come into the Scottish camp on the assurances of France, and to let the writing which the King has given him be seen *.



* The following passage from Ashburnham's narrative, Vol. 2, p. 67, illustrates this. Montreuil tendered him the engagement of the crown of France, which, in favour to the Scots, was obtained by them, &c. His Majesty declared, that he fully rested on that engagement.

Montreuil was of opinion, it was not politic so to deal as though the rejection of the Scottish proposals proceeded from France. In this manner he would soon lose the confidence of the Scots, and be removed from about the King. Even after the latter had at last betaken himself to the Scottish camp, Montreuil thought it sufficient to say, that the confirmation of the covenant and other things now required by the Scots had not been demanded by them when they caused the King to be brought into their camp. This shews, said he, what injustice they commit, if they now press matters which they previously did not want, and with what justice the King now rejects that which they actually promised not to demand.

The Scottish Lords in the camp, however, according to Ashburnham's narrative, falsely so represented themselves as though they had been ignorant of what had passed in discussion with the Scottish plenipotentiaries. Montreuil also had written from the camp to the King, that all the previous notions had been set aside. The English army and the English Parliament equally repulsed the King; no choice remained to him *. The Scots

* This was also the opinion of Colepepper. Vid. Ashburnham, 11, 180.

made their profit of this, and gave as their opinion :—that nothing which was demanded of him touched his honour or his rights.

It is, in fact, to be gathered from the reports in general, that Montreuil had given the King, previous to his betaking himself to the Scottish camp, certain assurances ; but in what they consisted, as well as the detail of the proceeding, is no where related. Montreuil only says thus much in one passage :—I endeavour to convince the King, that it would be much more advisable to put forward those promises which the Scots have made to France. And in another place, he says :—The French deputies have, with as much fidelity as care, informed the King of the bad will of the Scots, and that he must place little confidence in their word. The fashion in which they now treat him, affords him no ground for excusing them, or in the moment when they so basely violate their own promises, for making it appear that they do not adhere to that which France has promised.—Montreuil wished that Charles would only speak of the promises which the Scots had made to him, and not of those of France, that the bad dealing of the former might come to light without the King of France finding himself obliged to revenge it sooner than suited his convenience.—Yet Ashburnham relates : Montreuil has declared,

that if the Scots fulfilled not their engagements, France was no less offended than Charles I.

The Scotch promised moreover Montreuil as much as 20,000 jacobuses, if he would bring Charles over to accept their proposals. Feb. 20, 1647.

Before I proceed with the later letters of Montreuil, it is necessary to adduce some illustrations from the correspondence of Grignon and Brienne.

1. Grignon to Brienne, Sept. 6, 13, and 20, 1646. The mayor and council of London think of taxing the tradesmen, who however shew no inclination to come forward with money. The produce to be applied to the payment and disbanding of the army, which however is much dreaded by the Independents, whose consequence rests entirely on the soldiers.

Should the King this time also refuse to accept the conditions, he loses the Scots and all the Presbyterians, and throws all the advantage into the hands of the Independents. These endeavour in all ways to prevent an agreement, and next, by fresh declarations to make a reconciliation for ever impossible.

2. Brienne to Grignon, Aug. 31. Sept. 20 and 28, 1646.—One might advise the King rather to attempt a flight than to sign anything by which he may forfeit the right to restore his own power by his own means, or those of other states.

His refusal to sign is certainly a step towards destruction, but we cannot, if he yields to mere violence, reproach him with the having broken his word, and the people then, who might otherwise array themselves against him, will want plausible pretexts.

The Queen of England is against the acceptance of the proposals; and the members of the French Council find therein so many inconveniences, that they cannot determine themselves to recommend the acceptance of those conditions as a last resource*.

3. Grignon to Brienne, Oct. 4, 11, 18, and 25, 1646. The Scotch are not yet decided whether they will deliver or keep the King. They fear shame on the one hand and danger on the other. Many Independents do not wish for him to be delivered up, but say the further from England the better.—They would fain depose him, in opposition to which his friends think they have gained much for him if he be kept in honourable restraint, this hard alternative being preferable to more dangerous propositions. These friends of the King further complain that Charles has not for the last two months made them

* In a letter of March 22, 1646, Charles entreats his wife not to move the Prince of Wales to a change of religion, and not to marry him without Charles's consent. Bibl. Harl. No. 6988. p. 125.

the smallest offer or given them opportunity for taking his part, wherefore it is to be feared that they must abandon the hope of doing anything for the common good, and seek an escape for themselves.

Should the King not concede every thing unconditionally in the matter of Presbyterianism, he can reckon on no party in England or Scotland. Every delay on his part adds to the strength of the Independents. Nov. 8, 1646.

4. Brienne to Grignon, Oct. 19, 1646 *. After Montreuil's arrival the King must declare what he means to do. We abide by our first opinion, that every alternative is better for him than to commit himself so far as they have wished to bring him. As however his own views and those of his wife are opposed to his doing so, nothing more remains for us than to lay before him the difficulties of the proposals hitherto made, and then to let him make his choice.

5. Brienne to Grignon, Dec. 11, 1646. The rejection of the King's proposal we consider as a consequence of his despondency, and a sign that for his own advantage he must comply with their demands. Should he not now determine, either to acknowledge

* According to a letter of Brienne's, of Sept. 25, Montreuil had brought the last proposals in person to Paris. This explains the interruption in his correspondence.

Presbyterianism or to place himself at the head of an army, I hold it useless to think any further of his affairs.

6. Grignon to Brienne, Dec. 20, 1646. The Independents^{*} proclaim with much triumph that the King has made application to them, not so much because this is a witness of their consequence, but as a proof, how completely all the resources of the other side are exhausted.

Every thing in the town is Presbyterian, in the army Independent^{*}.

7. Grignon to Brienne, Jan. 10, and 24, 1647. The Independents are so fearful of the return of the King, that they would not have him here even as a prisoner. The people, they think, might free and restore him.

Many say he will continue at Holmby till the conclusion of an accommodation; that is as much as to say, for ever, for he will never conclude one.

8. Montreuil to Brienne, Jan. 27, and Feb. 3, 1647. The King in vain strives to make the English believe that he stands well with the Scots. He would still prefer to escape, which however is impossible. The Scotch must in that case prefer to see him out of the kingdom, to seeing him in the hands of the Independents.

* Jan. 3, 1647.

If the Scots deliver up the King they deal against their duty, and against what they have promised.

The King has formally given me his word, that if he for the present keep secret what the Scots promised him, he will never speak of the promises I made him at Oxford, upon which he knows and has acknowledged that he did not come to this army.

It is true the Scots aver they would do every thing towards the King's restoration if he would accept the covenant; but they will in no wise involve themselves in a contest with the English. Perhaps they seek his compliance chiefly for the purpose of ruining him finally with the Independents, whose reconciliation with him they greatly dread.

If, for the rest, the mischances of the King throw every one into astonishment who hears of them, the firmness with which he bears them, is a still greater object of admiration to those who see it.

9. Montreuil to Brienne, Feb. 12, 1647. The Queen Henrietta was against the acceptance of the covenant; the Scots on the other hand desired it, in order to withdraw themselves with some honour out of this bad transaction, and to give the people some satisfaction, which latter is dissatisfied with the mode and fashion in which the Parliament maltreats the King.

After the arrival of the English commissioners, the

King asked the Scottish, whether they meant to deliver him up? They answered, their garrison was about to withdraw itself from the place, and that the English would occupy it at the same moment. Hereupon the King sent for the English deputies and settled in discussion with them his departure for the 3d (13th) Feb. To the question whether he might take with him two of his old chaplains, and some Scotsmen, they answered no! Yet they wrapped up this negative in very respectful expressions and said; he would be received by his people with every description of applause, and that no King of England would have been so powerful as he could be! These are in words the expressions of which they made use.

If the King had made public what Moray and his *cousin* had done to bring him into the Scottish camp, this would have been very advantageous to him, but he did not choose to break entirely with that party, although it visibly deceived him.

The King has declared himself, in writing, satisfied with my conduct, and has expressly forbidden me to make known the foul dealing of the Scots. He has farther considered it very unbecoming to do this himself, although I represented to him the grounds which seemed to bind him to this determination.

The King gave me back also the paper, with the

assurances which I had handed over to him in Oxford.

The delivering up of the King has increased to loathing the detestation of the English against the Scotch. They do not cease to utter reproaches against them, and call them Jews who sold their King. Nay, it was only by threats and blows that the English officers could restrain the women from pursuing the Scottish garrison with stones.

10. Montreuil to Brienne, June 2, 1647. The Scots are astounded at the events in England, and the victory of the Independents. They see before them the ruin of their religion and also of their property, which latter they prize much higher than the former. Argyle and his adherents would fain adopt hasty measures; Hamilton, on the contrary, seeks to gain time, out of fear that his rival may obtain the command of the army. The preachers finally shew, that it is a duty to introduce Presbyterianism into England, even if not invited thereto.

11. Grignon to Brienne, October 28, and November 11, 1647. The hopes of the King continue, and are grounded, not as formerly, upon the entire army, but upon the division which has taken place in it, and which he thinks must compel one of the two parties to declare itself for him. Yet he knows how much many are striving to suppress all further nego-

ciation, that they may not lose the pretext afforded them by his refusal.

Whether, however, he accept the conditions, or any other result occur, the realm will equally suffer unless something new should occur by which it may profit more than by the events which have hitherto occurred. They know that the King, for three months back, has trusted principally to what has been said to him by Cromwell and Ireton, as well as Hampden, Lambert, and some others, whose origin and exploits were not before so illustrious that even their names could be known.

The suspicion of standing in connection with the King, has, however, so diminished the consequence of these officers, that Rainsborough, who commands the naval forces, entered the council of war last Thursday at the head of the agitators, in which council, Cromwell and Ireton preside in the place of General Fairfax, and demanded the punishment of those who had dealings with the King.

12. Grignon to Brienne, November 26, 1647. Rainsborough, who stands at the head of the agitators, has boasted in the House that he will carry his plans into execution, and if his party prove too weak in the army, he will find 20,000 adherents in London. On the other hand, Cromwell believes that he has taken his measures so well that victory cannot escape

him, and the Scots think that the beaten party, especially if it should be Cromwell, must join them; for with the others they would with difficulty find their reckoning.

13. Montreuil to Brienne, February 8, 22, and 29, 1648.—I believe that neither the Presbyterians nor the Independents are earnest in wishing to save the King, whom they have so much outraged.

The Scottish clergy preach against the King, and curse all those who would bring together the saintly soldiers of their army, with the criminals and malignants who have served the King. They counsel backwards and forwards without knowing how to dispose themselves in England; that however which Charles has conceded in the Isle of Wight, appears to the clergy insufficient, and not to be accepted. They excommunicate meanwhile the Catholics, and compel them to leave Scotland.

14. Brienne to Grignon, February 7 and 19, and March 3, 1648.—France is so involved in war, that she does not wish to mix herself with an army in the affairs of England, or so to act as to lead perhaps the victorious party to ally itself with Spain. She wishes however really and heartily, a reasonable accommodation between the King and the Parliament. I do not flag in my endeavours to convince the King that he ruins his cause by giving the

Scots nothing better than hope, and the English nothing but ground for suspicion. But no reasons have effect on those who ought to listen, and their secrets are all betrayed to their enemies. March 7, 1648.—The schism and discontent in army and people, and the open vilification of the conduct of the Parliament, encourages the idea that a bolder and worthier determination on the part of the Scots might procure a restoration of the King's legal rights; on the other hand, it is to be feared that all these fair hopes may vanish, and rash decisions be adopted against the person of the King. For, alas! the latter has not understood how to seize any of the opportunities which presented themselves, and his fate appears to drag him downwards.

15. Grignon to Brienne, March 9, 1648.—The Independents find themselves in a critical situation, in Scotland, Ireland, and the Parliament. They make it known that the Prince of Wales is united with the Irish in order again to excite suspicion against him among the Scotch. More than all this however may the internal dissension of the Independents prove dangerous, in as much as some agitators have declared, that as the army wishes to restore the King, they must labour at that work. This is however probably one of Cromwell's inventions, either for the purpose of exciting the jealousy

of the Scots on the subject of negociations between the army and the King, or to cut them off from pretexts connected with this restoration; the army, in all or in part, entertaining the same project.

16. Cardinal Mazarin to Grignon, March 13, 1648. —I am of opinion the King of England is not a little obliged to those who invented manifestoes against him, refused to negotiate with him, and proposed conditions destructive of the monarchy; for instead of exciting the people in their cause, this has only re-awakened their inclination towards the King, and called forth compassion for his calamities.

17. Montreuil to Brienne. March 14 and 23, 1648. The Scots fear that if they oppose the Independents, the high church would again raise its head. The Clergy also preach against a war to the advantage of the King, and say: after having confined the *raging animal, (*le furieux*,) and put gyves upon his feet, they must take good heed not to give him liberty and place the sword in his hand.—Clergy and Parliament are, however, by no means at one.

Representations against the war proceed from many parts of Scotland, and prove that they trouble themselves little about the King. The smaller gentry

had much rather strike down the Lords as they have the King.

18. Grignon to Brienne. March 16 and 30, 1648. The army of the Independents is, it is true, stronger than the Scottish; they have, however, several grounds for anxiety.

1st, Many counties are dissatisfied, and inclined to rise upon the advance of the Scots.

2d, London can only be held in check by leaving troops there.

3d, In the army itself there are officers and soldiers who betray good will and compassion towards the King. It is true they seek to remove or to disband all these, as also all who are inclined to Presbyterianism, but there are so many such that the army must thereby be much diminished.

For the case of the Scots advancing, the Independents wish to adjourn the Parliament, and to govern by means of a rump, or to get rid of all suspected persons by means of a test, which they ought well to consider before they apply.

19. Brienne to Grignon. March 28, and April 4, 1648. The Irish wish the Prince of Wales not to go to Scotland, but to join themselves. The native Irish are, however, at variance with the English Catholics, who have taken refuge among them

on one point. The latter, namely, would fain reconcile themselves with the Protestants, the former wish to extirpate them and are supported by the Pope's nuntio.

The Queen of England wishes France to give great assistance to the Scots, but I fear they are not strong enough to overcome the English, or that the latter may make alliance with Spain.

20. Montreuil to Brienne. April 4 and 21, 1648. The declaration of the Scottish clergy against the King is beyond measure strong. They resolved to depose the preacher, Ramsay, (the only one who refused to read that declaration in his church, and who yet ventures to speak in favour of his prince,) but the women of his flock are bolder than the Parliament. They followed him, to wit, into the assembly where he was to be deprived, uttered very offensive expressions against the leaders for their conduct, and added, "if you mean to dispossess our preacher, or to do the least evil to one of our old clergy, we will find means to hunt you out of the land, as we, the women, hunted out the bishops of old."

The Parliament now orders the public affairs by itself, the clergy refusing to act upon its views.

21. Grignon to Brienne. April 6 and 13, 1648. It is reported that there are more divisions in Scotland than in England, and the Scots much nearer fighting one another than the English. The men in power spread these reports, and even add that they are on the point of concluding a treaty with the King, only for the purpose of restraining the people from declaring for him.

Although the English army is only 12,000 strong, they mean to dismiss twenty men from each company, chiefly out of suspicion.

The citizens of London see very plainly that they committed a gross error, in calling in the army to appease the revolt of their comrades. They are now doubling their guards, fixing chains, and placing themselves in all ways in a position not to be attacked or beaten. April 27, and May 11, 1648.

22. Montreuil to Brienne. May 3 and 9, &c., 1648. The Presbyterians and Independents make use of the King and Prince of Wales only for the purpose of beating down their rivals; they have equally little love for either. A complete victory, moreover, of the Presbyterians over the Independents would only lead to the King's remaining in prison till he should have consented to the acceptance of all former proposals. There is, moreover,

in Scotland, neither unity of purpose nor spirit towards the war. Hamilton and Argyle remain enemies as before.

The church commission sent orders to the Clergy, on pain of deposition to preach^d against the levies. June 13 and 17, 1648. The Parliament, on the other hand, ordered every one who opposed these levies to be arrested, and his goods to be confiscated. Hereupon the Clergy ordered two solemn fast days, in order to pray God solemnly to inspire the ministers with other projects, or to cause the present designs to fail. July 25, and Aug. 14, 1648. They determined that every one of their own profession who should follow the army, should fall under ban and lose his emoluments.

23. Brienne to Grignon. June 22, and July 11, 1648. The King has equally little hope of restoration, whether parties unite or one overthrow the other. Our want of money and the position of our affairs has not permitted us to do anything for the King; we should also always fear to offend the English without affecting his restoration.

24. Grignon to Brienne. July and Aug. 1648. Nearly the whole people is deceived as to the pretext used by the Parliament. July 16 and 20, 1648. The latter very mistakenly delays an accommodation with the King, while his enemies and the army are

strengthening themselves. Even so do divisions in London, and want of courage in the King's party, hinder every bolder undertaking.

It would be of great convenience to the Independents that the King should accept the proposed conditions. Aug. 3 and 17, 1648. Not as though they were dealing with him in earnest, or wished to conclude anything, but in order to gain time for the reparation of their affairs, and to take from the people that pretext for insurrection afforded by alleged maltreatment of the King, or a rejection of all communication with him. In the case, however, of his rejecting all, they would place to his account every calamity which might accrue. On the other hand, the servants of the King who wish for his liberation, and the Presbyterians who would be glad at least to tear him out of the hands of the Independents, endeavour at this moment to prevent an accord which in the actual state of things could be only profitable to his adversaries.

They cause the King to be told that he ought not to deprive them of the possibility of serving him, nor can one now well doubt of their good will, since they are compelled by their own interest. A question, however, may well occur whether they would be in condition to carry into effect all they promise. For if, on the one hand, the greater part of the Lords

are devoted to them, and London is arming to support the Prince of Wales; the Lower House troubles itself little about the Upper, and the party of the Independents in London has hitherto known how to baffle all the schemes of its adversaries. To this must be added the slowness of civic determinations and measures, and the circumstance that the Lower House has declared every one a traitor who should in any manner support the Prince of Wales. Should however the Prince of Wales choose to lay under confiscation the London ships in the Downs, in order thereby to compel the city to declare for him, this blow upon their commerce would rather provoke indignation and afford the superiority to his enemies, already strong.

It is true the Parliament is hated, yet it is honoured in the actual state of things, and the King is nowise enough beloved to make the people break with it for his sake. Aug. 16, 1648.

Many would desire that some towns should declare for the King, but these projects are not conducted with the necessary silence, and the enemies are on their guard. Aug. 20, 1648.

25. Grignon to Brienne. Aug. 27 and 28, 1648. The inclination of the King to negotiate has so surprised every one, that even those who most hang

back expose their dissatisfaction, because the old pretexts and complaints fail thereby. Yet they hope to protract the affair.

Hollis is returned from France, but has not yet taken his seat in the Parliament. Were the Presbyterian party even ten times stronger than it is, it would be in want of a man bold and capable enough to make proposals in the Commons, which would be willingly supported by others, although their courage fails them in originating such. The indecision of the city is moreover very prejudicial to that party, and so soon as Fairfax can lead away his army from Colchester, the Independents will again acquire the upper hand.

26. Grignon to Brienne. Sept. 3, 7, and 10. The Scots are beaten. It is wonderful that Cromwell was bold enough with 8600 men to seek out their army 22,000 strong, and that he was able to win such a victory.

Although the Independents now declare, that they would be willing now that they have reduced their opponents, to concede more to the King than before, it is not yet known how they treated the King in past years after having spoken him fairer than now. They are determined to arrogate all power to themselves, and to leave him nothing but outward honour

and the title of a King; or in the event of his rejecting their conditions by reason of their severity, they will under that pretext shut him up closer and come to determinations even bolder than the former.

It seems doubtful whether it were better for the King now to return to any public situation and to activity, or to wait till the people, wearied with ill-treatment of him, which they like himself suffer under, begin to think of shaking off the new yoke. Their own misery and the instigation of the King's friends and the Presbyterians, might soon lead to this result; but their adversaries would then have strengthened themselves further than before the last troubles, and destroy new alliances, or even anticipate them.

In any case, the Independents act with great dissimulation, and it is difficult to come at their secrets. September 10, 1648.

27. Grignon to Brienne, September 14, 17, and 28, 1648. The Levellers are beginning to attract notice. They are a sect, or rather a faction, which is opposed not only to the monarchy, but to all kind of precedence or sovereignty, and wishes to make men as equal, in respect of wealth and property, as with respect to office and authority. This is perhaps merely a stroke of Cromwell's policy, in order

to frustrate an accommodation, just as in former years he availed himself of the agitators, (then, if not the heads, yet the organs of the party,) to frustrate the negotiations then in progress with the King. By the anxieties which they excited in his (the King's) mind, and the promises which Cromwell made him on the other hand, they led him into the Isle of Wight, and into the hands of his greatest enemies*. The majority in the Parliament is for the conclusion of a treaty : but fear is likely to restrain many from speaking out their views for the general good, and the Independents will put the army in motion as soon as they find other means insufficient to carry through their designs.

Some persons hope, that if the Prince of Wales should hasten to Scotland, he would give another turn to affairs, but he would hardly be sure of his personal safety, and the Marquis of Argyle would not hesitate to deliver him up, just as he sold his father two years since.

Others speak of the Prince's going to Ireland, but this is easier said than done, for the dissensions there are greater than ever, and the Catholics are more at variance with one another than with the

* Mazarin, September 11, 1648, instructs Grignon to support the King in the negotiation in all ways.

Protestants. The impatient Catholic party allows itself to be led blindly by the nuntio. November 7 and 28, 1648.

28. Grignon to Brienne, October, 1648. The army as yet does not declare itself, but from the conduct of the leaders and certain levies, it may be plainly seen to what it is about to proceed. October 8. Those leaders have, among other things, sent a regiment to the Isle of Wight, in order to be as strong as the militia there, which the friends of the King are striving to gain over, in order that after the conclusion of a treaty, they may not be obliged to hold to what they now promise. The officers are fully convinced that they can control any hostile movement, but prefer shewing such strength from the first, that none may have the will to attempt any thing.

So soon as the King and the Parliament shall touch upon the question of disbanding the army, the latter will probably take other measures. October 12. Between the General Fairfax, on the one hand, and Ireton and Rainsborough on the other, so clear a breach has occurred, that the latter came to London to complain of the other. Yet there is ground to believe that this dissension is by no means in earnest, but merely contrived, in order to avail themselves of the course of events. They proceeded formerly,

in like manner, when the King was at Hampton Court.

The proposals which the Parliament wishes to lay before the army, turn upon an entire change of the whole Government and the expulsion of their adversaries from Parliament. October 15. They are, it is true, as yet not unanimous upon these matters, but they are daily discussed by the leaders, and petitions are daily presented to Parliament, sometimes in the name of a county, at other times anonymous, but all directed to the destruction of the King or the dissolution of the monarchy. All these proceedings are, moreover, conducted by persons who are in intelligence with the army. They certainly only wait the return of Cromwell and the strengthening of the army in order to come forward openly.

29. Grignon to Brienne, October and November, 1648. The army has to-day, October 29, given in a representation, that the King may be put upon his trial, as acknowledging himself guilty of all the blood that has been shed. They take their cue in this from the first article of the propositions, and this may easily produce important consequences after the return of Cromwell.

Although the treaty with the King was as good as concluded, and nothing but matters of small account remained unsettled, the Parliament declared

it was not satisfied. November 5, 1648. This destroys the hopes of many, and excites the belief that those in power have never seriously thought of a reconciliation. The arrival of Scottish deputies with new demands, which are read out to-day, is very much to their accommodation. It is known, however, that Cromwell has talked this all over with the present leaders in Scotland, and that he thinks as little now of the King's restoration as he did in former years. Much as the Independents are opposed to the covenant, they have yet determined that every one shall take it, merely because they know that the King will reject it, and this is a certain means to break off all negociation with him.

30. Mazarin to Grignon, November 7, 1648. The peace with the Empire and the facility thereby afforded for concluding a peace with Spain, might contribute to bring about an accord between the King of England and his subjects. Nor are kings and princes without an interest in that matter, that the King may not be suppressed, and England converted into a republic.

31. Grignon to Brienne, November 16, 1648. New projects of the King's friends and the Presbyterians are spoken of. They are, in fact, seriously employed in preparing an insurrection in Wales and the western counties. In fact, however,

the Independents are not afraid of these designs, but use them as pretexts for doubling the guards of the Parliament, and taking measures for the total suppression of their enemies. For my part, I believe that these attempts would fail, even if the Irish Catholics were reconciled with the parties, and were to take part in them.

The King is still determined, from religious conviction, not to suffer the utter subversion of the bishops, and the regiments view, with increased irritation, their demands against them. November 19. The army seems, in general, to trouble itself little about the conclusion or non-conclusion of a treaty, inasmuch as it is minded to oppose every thing which does not fully accord with its views and notions.

32. Grignon to Brienne, November 26 and 30, 1648. It was yesterday determined in Parliament, that immediately after the completion of the treaty the King should return with honour, security, and freedom. Many see in this a proof of good will, and derive confirmation of their hopes from the declaration of the army, that it will submit to everything ordered by the Parliament on this subject. I can, nevertheless, hardly believe that the agreement can be brought to bear, or actually fulfilled after ratification. For although the majority in the Parliament doubtless wish for peace, partly from con-

siderations of the public good, partly with a view to keep what they have acquired during the troubles, the leaders connected with the army yet entertain other views, and will know how to bring others over to their opinion. Their plans are incompatible with an ordered Government, and the above mentioned declaration of the army is only made public either to shew the people that it does not present a reconciliation, or because no one believed in one. In any case, with respect to all these matters that only will come to pass which may please the soldiers. It is true the existing Government and this military tyranny is hated; but the leaders endeavour to establish themselves in such fashion that neither detestation of high and low towards themselves, nor love of the same towards the King, can be dangerous to them.

33. Grignon to Brienne, December 3 and 7, 1648. The King has, alas, not accepted unconditionally the terms—the Parliament not concluded the treaty. Both are moving to their destruction. Many Independents have betaken themselves to the city, in order, if possible, to carry through their views by a majority of voices, without violence; but at the same time they have sent (December 5) the notorious Joyce, two days ago, to the Isle of Wight, probably to carry away the King, as formerly they did from

Holmby. Hampden will the more readily consent to this, inasmuch as in that case, he has no need to fulfil the hopes he has excited in the King; and only to afford Joyce the time requisite for the execution of his plan, did they the day before yesterday, prolong by one day the time granted for the negotiation with the King.

What they mean next to do with him, is hard to say, yet we cannot but argue the worst from what they do, and say, and demand; and in fact so much the more, the more the people love and honour him, acknowledge his goodness, and compassionate his sufferings.

34. Grignon to Brienne, December 10 and 14, 1648. The Parliament seeks to gain time, but the army is already advanced to within ten miles of London, determined to repel all opposition by force.

The King finds himself in their power, and the heads of this party by no means conceal their wicked principles and ends, but seek to make them acceptable to the people. They will not hesitate in adopting a resolution to get rid of the King and the monarchy, and, at the utmost, they may doubt respecting the best means of executing these horrible intentions.

The city having made some difficulties as to the conveying 40,000*l.* to the army, the latter, without

question or notice, put itself in motion, and encamped the day before yesterday, Dec. 12, in the suburbs between London and Westminster, from 12 to 14,000 strong, as their friends proclaim—as others say, 5000. The general, Fairfax, lodges in Whitehall, the artillery is at St. James's, the cavalry occupies the royal stables.

All this so frightened the city, that it paid down 10,000*l.* on the first day, and gave promise of the rest, in the hope that the army would forthwith remove itself. Inasmuch, however, as the withholding that money was merely a pretext, but the true end of the advance was to hinder all levies and military preparations in the city, this payment (although they have applied to the general) will hardly answer the purpose.

The army further makes, it is true, no declaration against the King, says nothing to the Parliament, but suffers it to be guarded, as hitherto, by the city militia; it however knows well how much its presence effects, and that every resolution hangs upon its pleasure. In any case this party wishes to and will effect the ruin of the Parliament, which will not the less take place if the latter grant the demands, than if it reject them; nay, the leaders will be better pleased with the latter alternative, in order to proceed the more recklessly.

The Presbyterians would willingly receive the offers of the King, or prorogue the Parliament for a season; but will be the less able to effect one or the other object, as many of them remain at home, and those who shew themselves in the Parliament do not give their votes so boldly as if they were deliberating in entire freedom. They have carried the king to Hurst Castle, which is situated on a rock between the Isle of Wight and the main land.

35. Grignon to Brienne, Dec. 17, 21, and 28, 1648. The army has arrested its enemy, the Parliament, an act of violence which in other times would have done it much injury; but now the greater the confusion and injustice, the more it is favoured by circumstances. It is true, they have as yet shrunk from offering violence to individual citizens; yet several regiments have advanced under the pretence of wishing to seek out their enemies, and have taken away all the money forthcoming, to the amount of some 50,000*l.*, and paid the soldiers in part with it. At the same time the general has opened to the citizens, that so soon as they shall have furnished the arrears yet due to the soldiers, the money taken shall be refunded. Without satisfying the soldiers, at least in part, he would be unable to restrain them. The friends of the party also extol the excellent discipline of an army, which displays moderation and justice at

a moment when it is in condition to effect any thing.

Cromwell and his adherents are resolved, if not to proceed to the last extremity against the King, yet to shew that it stands in their power to do so, and that they have a right to consider his mere imprisonment as an act of grace. And if some would fain preserve his person, yet in that they aim, in no respect, at his restoration to power, but at the further establishment of their own.

36. Brienne to Grignon, Dec. 19, 1648. The idea that subjects should give up the head of their sovereign to the executioner, is so opposite to all their duties, that no one will, nor will I, believe it. And yet I know how much reason there is to fear it.

37. Grignon to Brienne, Dec. 31, 1648. The circumstance of their having brought the King to Windsor, occasions much reflection to those who are interested for his affairs, nay, for his *life*. I feel how strangely this expression must sound, and would willingly avoid using it if I could do so consistently with my duty. They have, as I know, made a wicked proposition in the council of war, which has been rejected in his favour by only five voices. Every one in the army who opposes the proposition of bringing him to trial, is called a royalist, and the whole controversy between Cromwell and Ireton, consists

in that the latter wishes to begin with the King, the former with the Lords and other persons of note.— Were these two men, upon whom the whole army is dependent, really at variance, they would still be greatly to be dreaded ; as it is, the whole is a device of Cromwell, who has always been accustomed to create an appearance of dissension where none really existed. He holds language, however, to his friends as though, if he be supported, the King would not only be out of danger, but restored to his dignity. In fact, however, he is far from this thought, and has even to-day proposed in the Commons, that no one shall have entrance there who refuses to acknowledge that they have the right to bring the King to trial, and to condemn him.

Perhaps all these things are not so near as they pretend, for the purpose of frightening thereby the Presbyterians, and the friends of the King. It is also said, that they seek privately to induce the Prince of Wales to reconcile himself to them, as the only means of preserving his father's life and his own crown ; if, however, they had the whole family in their power, it would go so much the worse ; for men of their stamp would rather be restrained by the fear of the harm the Prince might do them, than by the respect they owe to their rulers.

38. Grignon to Brienne, Jan. 4, 1649. Could

one expect any moderate resolution from Cromwell and his son-in-law, much might be hoped for the King. For they would not then, loaded as they are with the people's hate, govern as now under its name, and deprive their enemies of the most specious pretext for undertaking anything against them with effect. They have, however, pushed all things to such an extreme of violence, that they will so much the more condemn all mild measures, no one being forthcoming to oppose them*. Some Presbyterians, it is true, and friends of the King, think of raising an insurrection in the north, by the aid of the daily increasing malecontents in that quarter; but the leaders are so well informed of every thing, and so observant, that it will be difficult to surprise them.

39. Grignon to Brienne, Jan. 18, 1649. The protest which the Scots wish to make against what is done here, will by no means frighten the doers, whether it be that they think their friends in Scotland will be able to neutralize the effect of resolutions somewhat adverse to them, or whether they

* Mazarin wrote to Grignon, Jan. 6, 1649, to do all he could for the King, and to follow the written instructions of the Queen of England. She wrote to the Speaker and the General, and asked for passports to come to England, but they refused to open the letter, on the pretence that the superscription was not sufficient.

believe that Scotland in general is not in a condition to do them hurt. To the misfortune of the King also, the accounts of the troubles *in Paris* double the audacity of his enemies, who hitherto have always believed that France was in condition to give him assistance.

40. Grignon to Brienne, January 25, 1649. The enemies of the King exhibit such animosity against him, that they will not lose a moment of time, albeit, their plans are so void of reason, and contrary to their own interest, that nothing but wild hate and despair could make them so obstinate.

The Elector, Charles Louis of the Palatinate, has attempted to divert the General Fairfax, and Cromwell, from this course, or at least to stop the trial; but the former has put him off with courtesies, and the latter has not even concealed his designs. Of just as little effect is the intercession of some peers and Scotchmen.

41. Grignon to Brienne, February 4, 1649. The day before yesterday was the King brought before the Commissioners, and declared, he could not acknowledge their powers or right; wherefore they would not allow him, according to his wish, to speak further, but the President Bradshawe said, if he would not submit to the court, he could not be further heard: whether it was that this announce-

ment was in conformity to the natural usages, or that they grudged him the advantage. For all the people, even many of his friends, were moved and struck by the strength of his reasoning, the beauty of his eloquence, and the grace with which he delivered himself. To this was added the sympathy with his condition, and the sadness of such a spectacle. That no enterprise for his rescue might be set on foot or executed, they convey him every night to another lodging and double his guards.

Meanwhile they examine witnesses, whose evidence goes merely to this, that they have seen the King on this or that day of battle, with a sword in his hand. The doers, however, have a plan for bringing all to an end in this week*.

42. Grignon to Brienne, February 8, 1649. The commissioners have, on the 5th, passed sentence of death on the King, and summoned him the day before yesterday to hear it. Well informed of this intention, he demanded that the Lords and Commons

* Grignon had, in truth, express command from Paris to be active in every respect for the King's interests, but was fearful of venturing on any active measures, being convinced that such would not help the King but might well injure the interests of France. The envoys from the Netherlands were the first who came forward openly for the King, but it was determined not to give them audience till after the termination of the trial. February 13. Mazarin again renewed his former commands.

should hear him before it should be pronounced. The Commissioners having consulted upon this for half an hour in another chamber returned, and the President Bradshawe declared to the King, that his request could not be complied with. He endeavoured, hereupon, in a long speech, to demonstrate that the dealings of the King had been criminal, and that the English people were justified in bringing him to trial and condemnation. After the sentence had been read, the King wished to speak, but was not listened to, but roughly treated and led forth.

The Commissioners then held a meeting to fix the day, hour, place, and circumstance of the execution, but neither yesterday nor the day before had they come to any resolution. It is, however, much feared that they may come to a decision this evening in favour of to-morrow. A scaffold is already erected opposite Whitehall, perhaps only to divert observation, or to mislead, inasmuch as they think of St. James's Park or Westminster.

Some still flatter themselves that those in power have wished only to shew what they had a right to do, but afterwards to practise mercy and keep the King in confinement. This were very likely most to their own interest, but as things now stand, it is difficult to believe that they entertain this design.

43. Grignon to Brienne, February 11, 1649. No consideration, no reverence can restrain these men. They would condemn and put to death their King as such, to shew their mode of dealing, and their power, to frighten the Princes his children, and all such as might wish to meddle with them. God has perhaps allowed them to proceed to such a point of audacity, in order to excite in all the inhabitants of this country double animosity against the authors of this crime, and to raise up the sword, all neighbours and allies, to revenge the insult which, in the person of the King of England, has been perpetrated upon all sovereigns.

The day before yesterday, February 9, a little before two o'clock, the King came forth from a window of the palace of Whitehall upon the scaffold hung with black, attended by the guard and two or three gentlemen who had waited on him since his arrest. After he had spoken very little with the persons on the scaffold, he prepared himself and seemed to affect to do nothing, which might make it believed that he had wished to delay his death. But in less than a quarter of an hour was this sad solemnity over, and the spectacle was beheld of the death of a prince who deserved better fortune and more obedient subjects. All the bystanders admired his determination and firmness. He looked calmly on

all the preparations for his death, spoke constantly with the same absence of embarrassment, undressed himself and laid himself down, and suffered the most atrocious violence that ever was committed, with unexampled resignation.

The Bishop of London, who assisted him, was singularly edified by his conduct, and said, his death could not be more Christian. Upon his interrogation, the King replied he died a Protestant. His body is still at Whitehall, and it is said, that the Parliament is willing to let him be buried with the same honours and solemnity as his forefathers.

The boasted improvement of the state is nothing but a revolution, and the army practises in one day more tyranny than would have been possible for the King during his whole life and in his highest pitch of authority. More taxes also and imposts have been levied in one month, than were raised by him in several years, even including those which formed the pretext for insurrection.

44. Grignon to Brienne, February 15 and 22, 1649. All those attached to the army say aloud that nothing was ever more legitimate than their late horrible murder, and boast of having given an example to all nations of gaining their freedom. And yet it is always less surprising that men of war should hold such language, than that preachers should re-

present from their pulpits this as just before God, and assure that all of their faith would defend such doctrine.

The doers are agreed that it is wished to introduce a popular Government in name; the dispute is only whether it shall be so in fact. For so soon as the opinion of Cromwell and Ireton shall be adopted, a council of state, composed of as few persons as possible, will govern every thing. As this, moreover, is only to be changed by the Parliament, whose convention, however, is dependent on the council, it will retain in fact all power, while it constantly gives out that it is in the hands of the people. The account, however, that Scotland acknowledges Charles II., and that Ireland has declared against them, disturbs for the present their plans*.

45. Grignon to Brienne, March 4, 15, and 19, 1649. The Council of State wished to begin its business, but met with many difficulties. Some of the persons named to it, for example, rejected all participation, and the others fell into such disputes, that more than twenty opposed a resolution of fifteen others, by which all was to be confirmed that had been done against the King and towards the establishment of the new government. This disunion

* St. Germain, No. 1185—1187, Bibl. Roy. 777—779.

is the result of those which also exist in the army, although it is the policy of all parties to unite against the King and the Scots.

The greatest noise is made by the Levellers, who give themselves out for friends of the people and their liberties, and therefore meet with applause from the multitude. While, however, they talk, write books, and institute attempts, which the others know how to illude, Cromwell's party acts with far greater ability, confirms itself every day more, and leads every thing through the Council of State.

The Commons, to defend their conduct in utterly subverting the State, caused a declaration to be drawn up and translated into all languages, that every nation may be acquainted with their enormities. They are so delighted with what no one else can hear of without horror, that they believe, they will be every where treated with the greatest regard.

Determined as they are to exclude all the royal family from the sovereignty, they watch with equal care the Duke of Gloucester, that they may make use of him, if the people should choose to compel them to give them a king, or also to weaken the royal house by intestine divisions.

LETTER LXXIII.

Reports of the Ambassador Bordeaux.—War.—Cromwell and the Parliament.—The Army.—The Anabaptists.—Cromwell Protector.—Entry into London.—New Elections.—Conspiracies.—Violent Proceedings.—Character and Ill Condition of Cromwell.—His Sons.—Restoration of the Monarchy.

I HAVE met with no matter of importance relative to the first three years of Cromwell's sovereignty, it is only with the year 1653 that a new series occurs of diplomatic reports of Monsicur de Bordeaux to the minister Brienne, from which I extract what follows:—

January, 1653. The city of London and the merchants are averse to a war with Holland. Those in power, on the other hand, are in need of a foreign war, in order to preserve their only support, the army. For a week past Cromwell has been engaged with his officers in continual fasting and praying that the Holy Ghost may accord him the necessary light for the conduct of affairs.

May 1 and 12, 1653: Cromwell told the Parliament it was come to an end, and it was time the members should go home. The Speaker declaring that he occupied his place by legitimate authority, namely, through the Parliament, the Colonel Harrison entered the house with sixteen soldiers, took him by the arm, and led him to the door. The others followed without resistance. Some who would fain have spoken were ordered to be silent by Cromwell, who reproached them with their evil ways and offences. He then proceeded to where the Council of State was sitting, dismissed the members assembled, and released them from further care for the State. He related what had passed to the Mayor of London and the city council, which he caused to be summoned, and told them how the army would establish a good order in the administration of affairs, and how they should keep the people to their duty. Some soldiers had been drawn together from apprehension arising out of certain murmurs; the people, however, remained quiet, nay, whether from love of cruelty or dissatisfaction with the Parliament, evinced great joy at the downfall of the latter.

The General seeks, moreover, to gain over the people by relief from exaction and restoration of trade, and behaves towards all men with great amenity and courtesy. He forbade the soldiers to in-

sult the Catholics, and sent a guard to a church, to prevent an Independent preacher from driving out a Presbyterian, as had happened on a former Sunday. Even the gentry think to find their advantage in his rule, and would as willingly see him their governor as the legitimate one.

July 17. He next renounced, in deed, the power which had devolved to him by the dissolution of the Parliament, but was chosen with four officers, in order to name persons in the place of those who would not take part in the new Parliament. Soon afterwards some mechanics presented to the Privy Council a representation of a very presumptuous nature upon the liberation of Colonel Lilburne, in which they even ventured to declare, that the new Parliament was not legal. August 18, 1653.

November 24, 1653. According to a resolution of Parliament, the oath is abolished which was prescribed at the establishment of the republic, and which conveyed an express abolition of the monarchy. Many wish for its restoration, few cumber themselves as into whose hands it may fall. The army alone would be in a condition to oppose it; the majority of the officers, however, who have enriched themselves, and are in possession of great wealth, appear to prefer a stable government which would secure their

gains, to the revolutions which seem to be inevitable under the present forms.

At the moment, Cromwell is more uncontrolled than ever, although the Anabaptists might impair his position. November 27 and December 11, 1653. The Council has summoned some of their preachers before it, and has warned them with great mildness not to speak of politics from the pulpit. They returned, however, for answer: that they could not reject that with which the Holy Ghost inspired them.

December 22, 1653. A new alteration has fallen out in the Parliament. The Speaker, without waiting the end of a deliberation upon the form of the government, rose and invited all who were of his opinion to follow him. Some fifty hereupon went forth; some thirty armed Anabaptists and Levellers, kept their seats till a colonel entered with soldiers and sent them to their homes. Those first mentioned betook themselves to Cromwell and begged him to resume the conduct of public affairs*. He appeared sur-

* England united at this time to exclude the house of Orange from the dignity of Stadtholder; France, on the other hand, furthered peace between England and Holland. Report of December 6, 1653. Had I not, says Bordeaux, October 26, made acquaintances by means of my money, I should not have made much advance in my affairs.

prised at first, and declared the load was too great for him; afterwards, however, he acceded, and promised to labour for the protection of good people.

December 29, 1653. The day on which Cromwell was declared Protector, the cannon of the Tower were fired, the soldiers made a feu de joie, and bon-fires were to be seen before the public buildings; but the people gave no sign of approbation.

Feb. 23, 1654. On his solemn entry he was received like a King: the mayor went before him with the sword in his hand, about him nothing but officers who do not trouble themselves much as to fineness of apparel, behind him the members of the council in state coaches furnished by certain lords. The concourse of people was very great; wheresoever Cromwell came, a great silence; the greater part did not even move their hats. At the Guildhall was a great feast prepared for him, and at his table sat the Mayor, the Councillors, the deputies of the army, as also Cromwell's son and son-in-law. Towards the foreign ambassadors the Protector deports himself as a King, for the power of kings is not greater than his.

Jan. 1, 1654.—March 23, and May 16. Some say however he will assume the title and prerogatives of a Romish emperor. In order to strengthen his party he deals out promises to all parties. It is here,

however, as every where else: no government was or is right in the people's eyes, and Cromwell, once their idol, is now the object of their blame, perhaps their hate. May 18.

April 20. In order to maintain himself, he, in common with Lambert and some of the Council, wishes for war, and is only revolving whether it were better for him to raise it against France or against Spain.

June 25. A conspiracy having been discovered, Cromwell caused all the inns to be searched in the night, as well as many other houses, and upwards of 200 persons to be arrested. These severe investigations embitter the minds of men, and the number of the conspirators appears to be great. In the end this attempt will only serve to confirm the present government, and afford a pretext for its acting with still greater vigour. Yet the judges of the conspirators have made it be observed, that this mode of procedure was contrary to the forms of the country; others, on the contrary, maintain that the government is new and knows nothing of what former governments have done. July 2, and Aug. 21, 1654.

June 25, and Aug. 27. Cromwell is taking measures that none but such as are agreeable to him shall be chosen members of Parliament, all are also to take an oath that they will enter into no undertaking

against the present Government. The greater part of those returned are officers or connections of such ; for the gentry has been cowardly enough to choose none but persons acceptable to the Protector ; and the people, quite exhausted by the new taxes, has in like manner sent men of no consequence.

Sept. 13, and 17. As often as Cromwell at the opening of Parliament made mention of freedom and religion, a shout of applause was raised.

According to Cromwell's will those only should be admitted to the Parliament who should receive tickets of admission from himself, and many in fear allowed themselves to be satisfied with this exclusion ; others, on the contrary, made their appearance and declared that as the country had done them the honour to choose them, it was their duty to serve it. When the Protector, to break such resistance, dissolved the Parliament, (Sept. 24, 1654,) the city remained quiet, for they are more afraid of civil war than of his unlimited sovereignty. It is true the Presbyterians contemplate a republic with a severe church discipline. In the mean time this will only make all more dependent upon him and the army, and at the utmost will bring about that he will not assume any other title or make his power hereditary. The officers enriched with the possessions of the King's friends

are eager for their dismissal; other contention must not be looked for from this quarter. Oct. 6.

Sept. 24. One hears remarkable conclusions. Many say, for example, if the authority do not reside in the people, those who brought about the death of the King are murderers; but if the sovereignty do belong to it by law, those who wish to deprive it thereof are traitors. Cromwell's policy goes to this, only in case of extremity, to use violence, and his friends now assure that it has never been his intention to make his dignity hereditary*. Some colonels, who made a representation against his government, have been driven away by him, and the gentry would see him with pleasure assume the title of King. Jan. 7, 1655. No. 1187.

Cromwell has dissolved the Parliament with reproaches. Feb. 1, 1655. People wonder at this measure, and that he should not prefer an authority legalized by the Parliament, consent to one which runs counter to the laws, and is not confirmed by the people.

All conspiracies directed against him are conducted with so little dexterity, that they only confirm his power. He has sent several persons, detained prisoners in the Tower, to distant castles and islands, and

* October 6, and November 2, 1655.

has caused some advocates to be arrested, who had spoken too boldly against the levies ordered by him, (without consent of Parliament,) and certain other matters.

March 15 and 20, and June 3, 1655. The further proceeding was suspended, because they feared that the verdict might fall out as in the time of Charles I. Certain royalists have been executed, and two judges dismissed because they maintained that revolt against the present government was no cardinal offence. Great changes are moreover taking place in the departments of war and justice, and many persons are arrested on no other ground than that of having been attached to the King. June 24, 1655.

In order to maintain his consideration, Cromwell pretends great zeal for religion, in truth, however, he neither loves nor hates either confession. Those who think they know him best say, hypocrisy and knavery are his chief attributes. July 23, and Oct. 21, 1655. June 12, 1656.

He is often sick and troubled; for accounts from all parts of the country confirm that his plans meet every where with resistance, that people belonging to his court or the army fail at the elections, and that the Protector's greatest enemies are already chosen.

Aug. 23 and 30, 1656. Here in London, they have mixed soldiers among the citizens, in order to

assure the predominance to Cromwell's dependents. In many places the people has shewn the greatest contempt for the persons recommended by him, ~~any~~, here and there the major-generals and authorities have not been able to carry through their views without bloodshed. Sept. 11 and 21, 1656.

At the yesterday's opening of the Parliament, Sept. 28, they prepared themselves by fasting and the arrest of suspected persons. Members to the number of 160 to whom Cromwell had sent no tickets of admission were excluded by the soldiers, whom they had reinforced with fresh levies, and had gained over by raising their pay. The greater number of the officers believe that their maintenance depends upon the Protector, and that if the King or Parliament had recovered their power, they would be drawn under prosecution for their former behaviour.

The gentry, the judges, and numberless persons wish for the restoration of the monarchy, in reverse of which Lambert, Ireton, and Cromwell's two sons contemplate succeeding him in the sovereignty. Oct. 12, Nov. 9, and Dec. 4. The latter, according to the judgment of many persons, are not capable of undertaking such a burthen. The eldest son of Cromwell has devoted himself more to wine and the chase than to business; the younger is more diligent, but little respected, and still less loved.

LETTER LXXIV.

Comminges' description of England.

A DESCRIPTION of England in the year 1551, by the Florentine Petruccio Ubaldini, has been already communicated, and may be followed up here by a second furnished by the Comte de Comminges in the year 1666, 115 years later, and six years subsequent to the restoration*.

The soil and ground gives the inhabitants of England a sufficiency of the necessaries of life, and they therefore have recourse to other countries only for superfluities, which they obtain in exchange for their cloths, the finest in Europe ; for it is worthy of remark that they never suffer money to go out of their country in the course of trade.

They possess an utterly incredible number of great and small cattle, a true golden fleece, since it costs little to maintain them and almost nothing to

* MSS. de St. Germain. Vol. 741.

tend, they being left for the most part to stray by themselves over the pastures. I once asked my host in Salisbury, (in the neighbourhood of which the best cloths are prepared,) whether the herdsmen observed any measure or system in the feeding of their herds, and he replied: the most skilful observe but one rule, namely, they never allow the sheep to swill, but the dew on the meads and pastures suffices to quench their thirst, and this, according to the observation of many, is the real reason that the wool is finer, thicker, and longer.

The rich gentry possess many horses and amuse themselves therewith in hunting and running for wagers, in which occupations they spend the greater part of their time. Their residences are in general rather commodious than magnificent; but always richly provided with food and wine to entertain their friends, and strangers to boot; at least, they practise much hospitality.

There is hardly a gentleman who has not from three to four hundred bucks within a fence, and the lords have as many as from 12 to 1500 in their parks. There is abundance of birds and fish, and nowhere are better oysters found. The physicians recommend these to their patients, but cause them to drink afterwards, to correct the indigestibility, from two to four good draughts of the best and strongest Spanish wine.

With respect to dress, the court always follows the French; in order however not to appear as mere imitators and devoid of invention, many of the younger add something of their own, which usually only increases the expense and exaggerates the fashion. If we for example wear thirty loops (galans) to our hose, they put on sixty, and thus in every thing.

If we speak of the English in the mass, we must call them brave, proud, overbearing, suspicious, and so vain that I believe them to be a match in this for the Spaniards. Their demeanour is insupportable to any man of spirit, and one must be very modest and tractable, in order to keep on even moderate terms with such as seem to be of the most respectable class (*les plus honnêtes gens*).

The lower people are by nature inclined to theft, and if the severity of the laws were not brought in opposition, nothing would be in security.

Excesses in taverns and brothels pass among people of note merely for gallantries, and even women of good condition do not refuse a gallant to accompany him to drink Spanish wine.

A great proportion of their lords appear to be richer than they are. Some were ruined in the last war, and retained nothing more than their title, of which they are very vain. Others, following an

absurd custom, leave the management of their affairs to their stewards, who soon so establish themselves in their authority, that the master learns nothing, and by degrees, (as is seen in the most distinguished families,) becomes a servant of his servant's son. The middle gentry, (called the cavaliers,) possess the ground and soil of nearly the whole kingdom, inasmuch as they and their fathers have generally been farmers to the lords, make little expense, never go to court, or leave their counties. The young women do not lose their rank, if they marry a man of humble station, whence one often meets with instances of strange and ill assorted marriages.

Notwithstanding this mixture of good and evil, it may be mentioned, that this people is formidable at sea, and would, if to its strength were joined more truth and faith, and less covetousness, attract to itself the greatest part of the collective trade of the world.

I must add still a word upon the amusements of the inhabitants of this great town of London. Sundays and festivals excepted, there are every day theatrical representations in two houses, which are to be called sumptuous in respect of the beauty of the stage, the convenience of the boxes and the pit, the machinery, music, and safety of the spectators. The players endeavour to imitate nature, and the poets do not submit themselves so painfully as we

to the rules laid down by the learned. They think nothing of causing a king to be born in the first act, who fights a battle in the second, marries in the third, is made away with in the fourth, and is crowned a tyrant in the fifth*.

I have seen represented the entire life of Henry VIII. which is distinguished by so many marriages, misfortunes, and crimes. Cardinal Wolsey appears with his hat, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury with his vestment and coif, and I believe even with the pallium.

Boxing, partaking of something barbarous, is in common use, and enormous sums are staked at the cock fights. Young people of the best family pass entire days in this occupation, and the lords are not ashamed to mingle in this pursuit with the lowest and most infamous rabble. The King of England named to me, one who had in this manner lost a property of 10,000 jacobuses' annual income.

Thrice in the week there are fights, at a small price of admission, between dogs and bears, or bulls, and the public places are full of mountebanks and puppet shewers.

In addition to all these places of entertainment may be counted upwards of 200 houses, where the idle and dissolute assemble to take tobacco,

* This order of the words stands in the German text, and is, perhaps, an attempt at witticism in the writer. [Tr.]

brandy, tea, coffee, and chocolate. It is there that with the pipe in their mouth, among glasses and bottles, they discuss the news, treat of politics, make portraits of all princes, and bring their ministers to trial; all with so much ignorance and so little justice, that nothing but passion and interest governs their decisions, and these impudent and scandalous meetings are closed in drunkenness and low debauchery.

LETTER LXXV.

Military establishment and expenditure in the 16th and 17th century.

IN a treaty of May 1575, with the Count Mansfeld and others, there are stipulations set down in unusual detail upon all the points which could come under discussion *. Among others we find: the soldiers are not to practise violence, to rob, plunder, burn or destroy in any fashion. They are not to do any violence to widows, women, girls, or children, not to attempt the chastity of nuns, not to curse, or take the name of God or his saints in vain.

By a treaty between Queen Elizabeth, and the United States of the Netherlands, of August 20th, 1585, the following rates of pay were established

monthly, the pound sterling being rated at 10 florins *.

	£
The Colonel General	120
His Lieutenant	60
The Sergeant-major	20
The Provost-marshal	10
The Quarter-master	10
Two Corporals of the army	10
Two Commissaries of provisions and trans- port	10
The Commander of the Artillery	30
The Treasurer	30
Twenty-six Companies at 150 men each, and at 150 <i>l</i>	4420
Levy and Embarkation	4000

The Count Solms received from the King of France in 1595†, levy money for 2700 men, 2700 dollars. For himself and staff, 2000 florins, or 1000 dollars. The Colonel Lieutenant, 133. Six Halberdiers, each 6 florins; the Clerk 25 florins, the Interpreter 24. The Chaplain and Surgeon 30 florins per month. The Baker 26, &c.

In the 30 years' war the regiments of Chastillon's army counted 699, 533, 438, 207, 200 men‡.

* Bethune MSS. No. 9737.

† Fontelle Capette. VI. Pro. 87.

‡ Chastillon Mem. Vol. 9260.

By a French ordinance of November 24th, 1639, in winter quarters, a Gensdarme received daily 40 sous.

A Soldier of light cavalry 30

A Carbineer..... 20

A Maitre de camp monthly 100 livres.

The Almoner 72

The Surgeon 50

LETTER LXXVI.

Manners, Usages, Festivals, &c.—Queen Eleanor in Brussels.—Feast of the Order of the Golden Fleece.—Feast of Queen Mary of Hungary.—Auto da fé at Valladolid.

IN Vandenesse's diary of the journeys of Charles V. and Philip II., preserved at Besançon among the papers of Cardinal Granvelle, is the following.

When the Queen Eleanor of France, invited her brother Charles V. at Brussels, in October, 1544, she received for her provision, daily, (not reckoning vegetables, soups, pastries, salads, and such like,) 128 pounds of beef, two sheep and a half, a calf, two swine, two fat capons, eighteen hens, four partridges, two woodcocks, two pheasants, two hens, twenty-four quails or turtle doves. For the common kitchen of the Queen, were daily sent in : two oxen, eighteen sheep, three calves, twelve pigs, sixty capons, forty-eight hens and doves, forty head of venison of all kinds ; besides soups, pastries, tripes, marrowbones,

lard, grease, butter, eggs, sugar, spices, &c., nor were the fast days less richly provided for.

At a feast for the Knights of the Floece, in December, 1545, there were three courses. To the first belonged: beef and mutton, hams and tongues, soups, calveshead, venison, with turnips, mashed pease, veal, hot swan, (*signe chault*,) goose, hens, turkeys, pies of cows' udders, and entremets.—Second course: breast of veal, roasted sausages, tripes, cutlets, ragouts and pies of venison and partridges, roast pheasants, capons and pigeons, birds of all kinds, &c.—Third course: peacocks, partridges, water-hens, brawn, hot pigeon pies, cold heron pies, blanch-manger, clear jelly, roasted rabbits, and geese, roast mutton and entremets.

Hereupon followed: chicken pies, cold hens, cold venison pasties, the same of hare and partridges, wild-boar's head, cold swan, goose, pheasant, rabbit pies.—Finally: three sorts of jelly, three sorts of comfits, tarts with syrups, apples, pears, medlars, chesnuts, anise, cheese. After every thing, except the cloths were removed, there remained still wafers, biscuits, hippocras, and wine. At the commencement of the banquet, toasted bread (*roustics seches*) had been handed round.

In August, 1549, Queen Mary of Hungary gave a feast, of which Vandenesse relates the following.—

At Binche, in the great hall, there appeared knights errant, who carried off several ladies, and conveyed them the same evening in carriages to Marienburgh, where the Queen had caused to be built a citadel with four towers. There were in it many knights for its defence, commanded by the Count Lalaing, richly provided with artillery and munitions of war; without stood sixteen pieces of cannon, infantry and cavalry, to take the fortress. Both parties distinguished themselves much at the attack and defence. When tidings were proclaimed that the cannon had already effected a breach, the Emperor and the Queens proceeded with their courts from Binche to Marienburgh, and took their places on a scaffold erected in the neighbourhood of the fortress. The Queens were this time not waited on by gentlemen, but by twenty-four ladies dressed as nymphs, shepherdesses, and goddesses, and so covered with pearls and precious stones, that one might believe all the riches of the world were here united. After the fortress had been taken and the imprisoned ladies set free, the Emperor and the Queens, nymphs, and goddesses, returned to the town, where the evening banquet was concluded by a ball.

A few days afterwards, another feast took place in Brussels. The hall was well carpeted, and the roof was of painted linen, representing clouds, to which

many small lamps representing stars were fastened. In a corner were to be seen rocks, from which springs of fresh water burst forth, wine, hippocras, and perfumed waters. In another corner of the hall was seen a tower, which spat out fire and lightning, but the smoke was perfumed and the hail was sugar-plumbs. There now descended a table on four pillars covered with dishes of all kinds of baked meats. This was in an instant cleared by the numerous guests, it then sunk into the earth, thunder and lightning began again, and a second table, still more richly covered with marchpane and other things, descended and vanished like the first.

On the third table, which appeared after the third thunder, stood three laurel trees, to the leaves of which were fastened the arms of the Emperor and several lords. There stood at the side viands of many kinds in vessels of gold.—It was not till after nine days that the feasting, tourneying, running at the ring, which the Queen Mary had ordered in honour of her brother the Emperor and her nephew Philip, came to an end, and in fact she is an example to all ladies of virtue and decorum, as also in all inventions and serviceable devices.

Thus it went on in the Netherlands at the time of Charles V. When Vandenesse passed from his service to that of his son Philip, he had to record a festival

of another kind, suited to the taste of his new master. On October 8, 1559, he relates, the King, the Prince his son, and his sister, with the persons of the court, of the council, and the Inquisition, went to the principal place of Valladolid. Twenty-eight persons, male and female, were then led forth, and their sentences were read to them. Those who persisted in their conviction were burnt alive, and the others led back to prison.

LETTER LXXVII.

Dowries of Princesses in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries.
—Ball of Queen Margaret of Valois.—Table of Henry IV.
—Articles furnished for the table of Cardinal Aldobrandini.
—Festival of peace at Paris in 1629.—Sentiments of the Clergy upon Dancing.

ISABELLA, daughter to Philip IV. of France, received on her marriage with Edward II. of England, in 1308, an outfit which cost 28,179 livres*. In it was included two crowns, one of the value of 700 and another of 600 livres, golden spoons, gold and silver drinking vessels, fifty silverporringers (*escuelles*), twelve great and twelve smaller dishes, &c. Dresses of gold stuff, velvet, Brussels cloth, changing taffety, (watered?) six trimmings of green cloth from Douay, six beautifully marbled, six of rose scarlet; various

* *Negociations d'Angleterre.* MSS. de la Bib. Roy., Vol. 34, p. 31. *Chambre du Levant.*

furs, much linen, for instance, 419 ells for the bath alone. Then carriages, horses, vessels, ornaments for chambers and the chapel, &c. Among the rest was a chamber, hung with lozenge-shaped gold stuff, and ornamented with the arms of England, France, and Brabant. Eighteen livres are set down for six dozen de coiffres, probably coifs.—Some eighty years later, (1396,) Isabella, daughter to Charles VI. of France, married King Richard II. of England, and received a great quantity of crowns, rings, necklaces, clasps, garlands, &c. A robe and mantle of red grained velvet, embroidered with gold birds of goldsmiths' work, perched upon branches of pearls and green precious stones. *Laquelle robe est de quatre garniements, c'est a scavoir chappe et chaperon, et coste simple fourré de menu vair, et le mantel en pareil fourré d'ermine.*—A robe of velvet embroidered with branches of *mouray* mazon, and roses, all of pearl.—A body of grained velvet, a robe of fine gold stuff with a red ground. Several *houppelandes* of gold stuff on green, white, and other grounds.

The chambers were hung with red, white, or other satin, and covered with embroidery or tapestry, which represented women employed on the vintage, or sheep, trees, flowers, and fountains. Other tapestry represented scenes out of the sacred or Florentine history.

We find, again, 100 years later, a third outfit, that of Mary of England, who married Louis XII. of France. Among the numerous articles of all kinds included, there were also gold and silver images of the saints George, Edward, Thomas à Becket, Catharine, &c. Mention is made of a robe of purple velvet lined with gold stuff, of yellow gold stuff from Damascus, of silver stuff lined with crimson velvet, of gold stuff with a purple ground, of crimson satin embroidered with birds' eyes, Vol. 49, (peacocks?) &c.

The most detailed account of another outfit is found in the negociations d'Angleterre, in the marriage of Henrietta, &c. (Vol. 46—49. Vol. 49, p. 250,) with Charles I. of England in 1625. After mention of all which was provided under the head of precious stones and valuable ornaments, for chapels and altars there follows what appertains to the admirers of the chambers: a specification of stools, benches, chairs, chests, &c., most of them covered with velvet. Un grand lit consistant en six plantis et dossiers fonds cantonnières de parade et soubassement, le tout de velours rouge cramoisy, aux trois rideaux de Damas, quatre doubles pantis, et quatre grandes panaches de plumes blanches, deux courtis pointes, l'une de taffetas rouge cramoisy et l'autre de toile d'Hollande piqué. Dresses of all kinds and all colours, and stuffs, as black satin broidered with

gold, &c. A royal mantle of crimson velvet with a train, lined with ermine, &c. Several riding habits. A warming pan, a washing bason, a syringe, a watering pot, &c. Four dozen day and do. night shifts, a very fair shift of (point coupé). Two dozen *cornettes*, two dozen night caps *bordes et barrés*, two dozen of the same of point coupé, eleven powdering gowns, our dozen pocket handkerchiefs, much other linen, gold and silver worked vessels, a pair of red velvet half boots lined with marten's fur, twelve pair of shoes broidered with gold and silver, twelve pair with roses and golden *dentilles*, eighteen pair with great bows, six pair of perfumed gloves, six dozen laces *lacets*, eighteen combs, 50,000 pins.

For the pages, four dresses of red velvet, embroidery in silver and silk, silk stockings, red garters, hats, feathers, and belts. Finally, horses, mules, litters of velvet, several carriages, one covered with red velvet, loaded with silver and gold within and without, gilded wheels, superb curtains and cushions.

. . . The expense of the table appears, sometimes, in France, to have even exceeded that of the toilette in proportion. For the table of Henry IV. were allowed daily*: six dozen loaves, four *septiers* of wine, a piece of royal beef, (une pièce de bœuf réelle,) two of common quality, twenty-four *pieces*

* Dupuy, 755, p. 161.

de mouton, sixteen of veal, carbonadoes not included, nineteen capons, twenty-four hens, pigeons and hazel hens, a turkey, twelve head of game, twenty-four pounds of lard, fruits, salads, &c. Besides this royal table, were others for the gentlemen, chamberlains, &c.

On the marriage of Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. with Charles I. of England, the number of their court attendants, the establishment of their table, &c. was made out—v. Colbert, *Melanges*, Vol. XI.:—She was to be furnished with five dishes for breakfast, twenty-four for dinner, and twenty-four for supper, entremets, dessert, and other things not reckoned. Her first two ladies reckoned each seven dishes daily, 100 livres maintenance, and 200 pension from the King. Four filles d'atour, each four dishes and fifty livres daily.

Two women of the chamber, fifty livres, and no special board other than such dainties as might remain over from the King's table. Six maids of honour, each ten livres and two dishes. The laundress twenty-four livres and two dishes. The physician 200 livres and five dishes, an apothecary twenty livres and three dishes, a cook fifty and five dishes, an advocate fifty livres, a proctor thirty, &c.

In another page it appears, that a master of the horse receives ten dishes and fifty pounds sterling,

four ecuyers dine with him and receive twenty pounds, a foot servant from six to ten pounds, and for his dress six pounds fifteen shillings.

Henry IV.* caused the Cardinal Aldobrandini, who accompanied Mary of Medici to France, to be furnished daily with forty-five dozen loaves, six barrels (barili) of wine, for his suite, twenty-six bottles for the cardinal's table, five sheep, 150 pounds of beef, two young calves, and sometimes one or two kids, from ten to twenty turkeys, but if more than thirteen were furnished, somewhat else was usually omitted; six or eight great, and thirty to thirty-six ordinary capons, eight or ten ducks, two herons, but not every day; six to ten partridges, nine to twelve snipes, twelve to fifteen field-fares, twenty-four larks, six rabbits, two to four hares, an ham, six black-puddings, twelve sirloins, two salted ox tongues, four pounds of grease, two pounds of butter, thirty to forty eggs, four pounds of rice, two to three pounds of sugar, a pound of various spices, two pounds of capers, two ounces of saffron, four large, ten to twelve small torches, twelve wax-lights, ten pounds of candles' tallow, two pasties, forty cakes of flat dough and other kinds, a cheese of four pounds' weight, four great artichokes; salad, fruits, vegeta-

* Dupuy, Vol. 79.

bles, and the like in quantity. On fast days, twenty-five trouts, from two to thirty pounds ; eight to ten pikes, from ten to twelve pounds, thirty other fishes, eight to ten golden carp, nine to twelve barbels, five to eight *cefali*, many other sorts of fish ; thirty to forty pounds of oil, ten to twelve pounds of butter, and 200 eggs.

The following description occurs of a feast given at Paris in 1629, on occasion of the peace with England *. As soon as the King, Louis XIII., was seated, he invited the English Ambassador, Thomas Edmondts, to be so likewise, which instruction the latter followed, first making a deep obeisance to his Majesty. The comptroller, General Coquet, who had set upon the table the dishes appointed for the Ambassador, now presented him the napkin to wash, and also received it back. The King and the Ambassador were served with the same dishes, some thirty in number, fifteen of which were at each end of the table, and so disposed that the royal viands remained somewhat separate from those of the Ambassador.

The first service lasted very long, it consisting of nearly two courses, namely, of soups, all kinds of

* Mem. actes et traites avec Angleterre. MSS. Chambre du Levant.

large and cold meats, and of entremets. Every thing was well spiced; and what is remarkable, every dish of great meat was accompanied by several other articles, such as pheasants, turkeys, and twelve smaller pieces.

The second course had the same number of dishes, but finer, such as ortolans, quails, partridges, woodcocks, turtle doves, wood pigeons; in short, all kinds of the best game that was to be had.

After this course, in which the Ambassador found many articles to his taste, for example, the ortolans, came the third, which consisted of fishes nothing less than monsters; namely, trouts, carps, pikes, plaices, and other fishes of such prodigious size, that each page or servant could hardly lift one of each.—This also gave the Ambassador occasion to fall into astonishment, and to say somewhat to the King upon the fish, the ortolans, and the other game; whereupon his Majesty (although his disposition is naturally utterly averse to falsehood) made the Ambassador in sport believe, that the fishes had been taken in the ponds or canals—the ortolans, &c. in the woods and gardens of Fontainebleau.

In the meantime the Ambassador caused himself to be served a second time with wine by a gentleman of his suite,—rose, and after a deep obeisance, gave the King's health; whereupon his Majesty raised

himself a little from his chair, and saluted the King of England in like manner.

Between the second and third courses, two baskets were set before the King and the Ambassador, with the finest china oranges and other fruits. As the Ambassador observed that the King made his over to the Queen-mother, he divided his share among the ladies who sat near him.

The cakes and pastry, remarkable for their excellence, may be considered as a fourth course, which was placed on table with similar solemnity. So soon as his Majesty perceived that his Excellency, from a kind of respect, was hesitating to assault a tart of great magnitude, which was before him, he cut a piece from his own, and made a shew of eating it, which enabled the Ambassador at once to recal and satisfy his appetite. The King after this sent his tart to the ladies of the Queen-mother, the Ambassador his to those of the reigning Queen. The last course consisted of preserved fruits and dry comfits.

After the meal was over, a wet napkin was handed to the King, as also to the Ambassador, to wash.—The King then made a pretty deep obeisance, and retired to his chamber, conversing with the Ambassador. During the meal the violins of the King played, and afterwards the hautbois and bagpipes (*musettes*) of Poitou.

At this time, as before and after, existed a controversy upon the morality of dancing; and the following opinion of certain Catholic ecclesiastical authorities of the sixteenth century is extant.—St. Germ. MSS. No. 1564, p. 268. The exercise of the body, which takes place in decent dancing, may, in the first place, be healthy. We can also tell by the dance whether a person is in health, and has no corporal defects, which it is very convenient for those to know who mean to marry. One is also often thereby aware whether a person be of a lively or sleepy disposition, for one who is simple and *mal-à-droit* cannot dance well. Finally, at marriages and festivals the young ladies know not what to set about after dinner, or to what purpose they have put on their best apparel, especially if it should rain or be otherwise bad weather. The reformed religion strongly forbids all dancing:—should the Catholic choose to do the same, an host of young people would pass over to the former.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Espousals of Mary of Medicis with Henry IV.—Festivals in Lyons.—Reception of the Queen.—Her disposition.—French music.

AMONG the MSS. of the royal library, is a diary of the proceedings of the Cardinal Aldobrandini, drawn up by one of his suite named Ajucchio, who died Nuntio at Venice. It refers principally to the espousals of Mary of Medicis with Henry IV.,—her journey to France, &c.

1. Betrothal of Mary in Florence.—Thursday morning being the day appointed for the betrothal, the court and the nobility of Florence assembled in great pomp at the Palace Pitti; and all, so soon as the assembly was complete, put themselves in motion for the church of Maria del Fiore. First, the court attendants, then the Cardinal's suite, mixed up with other Florentines and court employés. There were

seen above 120 liveries of cloth richly embroidered with gold, or of gold stuff. Behind the court attendants rode the Grand Duke and the Legate, side by side, under two baldaquins, (*con due ombrelle sopra,*) next the prelates, and somewhat further back princes, ambassadors, and high nobility, in sumptuous apparel. Don Giovanni, for example, wore a coat of violet velvet, embroidered with golden leaves. The carriage of the Queen followed next, in which she sat with the Grand Duchess, the Duchess of Mantua, the Duchess of Bracciano, and the Prince. Behind them their ladies, and then seventy to eighty carriages, with 241 young ladies, all dressed in white silver tissue. Lastly, fourteen old ones, who had hung themselves with as much magnificence as they could about their persons; the pearls, however, and precious stones of the Grand Duchess excelled those of all the others.

In the cathedral, the Legate took his seat near the book of the Gospels, and opposite to him stood the Queen with the Grand Duke, in a place partitioned off and hung with cloth. The Duke, who represented the bridegroom, was dressed in white, and wore in his hat a diamond of 120,000 scudi value.

Without the chapel were placed on a separate elevation the Grand Duchess, the Duke of Mantua, the French ambassador, and other very considerable

persons—all standing, and bareheaded, in honour of the King. The mass was sung, with excellent music, as at the espousals of the Queen of Spain, and a great number of cannon discharged. In the evening a truly royal feast was given in the Pitti palace. Before the principal table two bridges were suspended in the clouds, upon which stood gods and goddesses of heathen mythology, who sung several songs in honour of the betrothed pair.

On the evening of Monday, the 9th, was given a musical comedy, which, in respect of the scenery and interludes deserved much commendation; but the fashion of the singing easily begat ennui, and the motions of the machines were not, in all cases, successful.

2. Feasts at Lyons in honour of Mary.

Sunday, Dec. 17, 1600. All the people hastened to the cathedral, which, although the doors were beset, was quickly filled above and below, in the passages, choirs, and windows. Nay, the place before the church and the neighbouring streets were filled with men. The Legate was received by the French Cardinals and the Bishops. They had scarcely reached their places in the church, when the King and Queen also appeared, the princes and the nobility in the highest pomp, as such marriage solemnities require; then carriages, archers, Switzers

in new uniforms, pages, ladies of the chamber, servants, &c.

The seat of the cardinals was near the book of the Gospels; somewhat further removed was that of the other cardinals, of the bishops, &c. Before the altar stood a chair and a bench with two pillows, and over them was a baldaquin, all of red velvet.—Here knelt the King and Queen, and round it stood all the princes and officers.

The Legate read mass. Music sounded on the elevation of the host, but more of instruments than vocal, and without much harmony. After mass, Henry and Mary approached, and the Legate, with the usual ceremonies and prayers, joined their hands together. On the return, which followed, in like order, some money, but not much, was scattered abroad.

There next followed a feast in the hall of the archiepiscopal palace. Besides the great, but not richly ornamented table in the middle, others were placed along the wall. Notwithstanding that the avenues were strongly occupied already, before the arrival of the King such a crowd of persons had found entrance into the hall, that it was entirely filled, and one could scarcely draw breath. Although the guards struck about them without respect of persons, the principal company was forced to wait

long before they could reach their places at table.— In particular the Legate (who, as he had entered the church last, also left it last) was detained a good quarter of an hour before room could be made for him.

The ladies who sat at the middle table, reached their places the soonest; the gentlemen stood till the arrival of the dishes, and this lasted a good half hour, it being impossible to make a passage through the crowd. At last there appeared four drummers and eight trumpeters, sounding their instruments; then ten gentlemen of the household, with great yellow staffs, the heads of gilded silver, with the royal crown at top, and beautifully worked. Then came the Cardinal St. Paul, filling the place of the absent High Steward, the Count of Soissons, carrying in his hand an ornamented Indian staff, twined with gold, and headed with a crown and a fleur-de-lis. Then came the dishes. The first, for the King and Queen, were carried by the Prince of Conti and the Duke of Nevers; then followed persons less in rank, continually decreasing down to the cook. After the Steward had approached and made a deep obeisance, they retired on one side; but the table, which in the beginning, was entirely empty, was in this manner four times newly covered. Over the centre of the table hung a baldaquin of red velvet with golden

fringes, under which sat on the right the Queen; in the centre the King, to the left the Legate; next to the right, but at a certain distance, sat the Duchesses of Nevers and Guise, &c. The most distinguished gentlemen undertook the office of cup-bearers, &c.

The dishes were, in our judgment, and even in that of the French, of very coarse and ordinary description, and if we except the decorations and some minor delicacies, there was nothing extraordinary: great pieces of meat; some dishes garnished with vegetables; little order.

The first course commenced with some great fishes and a large boar's head, perhaps the best thing of all; at the end there was a failure of all, and nothing remained but cherries, and a few other fruits. In respect of drink there was great want, inasmuch as on account of the crowd it was impossible to reach the buffet, except for the cup-bearers of the King, who were able under protection of his archers to obtain wine for him. All others sat there without drink, and began greatly to bemoan their case, till some called to them one who was idling about with a bottle in his hand, and obtained something for themselves. Other gentlemen rose in person, got possession of wine and went about here and there, kindly providing for their friends; even our Cardinal, after long waiting, obtained wine in

this manner. At the table of the ladies several were forced to content themselves with a glass of wine, which had previously been tasted by the Switzers. It was a sport to see how the starving lords and ladies grasped at the dishes in order, in the general failure or insufficiency, to obtain something.

At the end a thanksgiving was sung by a good choir, then followed long conversations, all standing. At last the musicians made their appearance to commence the ball. Here is the place to say something of the dresses. On the morning, in the church, the Queen was royally arrayed with mantle and crown. The latter small, and covering only the points of the hair, richly adorned with precious stones, a golden lily on the top, and on that a diamond valued at more than 120,000 dollars. This crown becoming irksome to the Queen on account of its weight, and the value of the stone being spoken of, the King said: if the Legate would establish a peace, he would make over this diamond to him, otherwise he would spend its value on gunpowder. The Queen wore besides bracelets of diamonds and pearls, and diamonds about many parts of her dress, and especially at the fastening of the mantle. This was of lilac velvet, full of gold embroidered lilies, lined with ermine, and filled with a train so long and heavy that two persons had trouble to carry it.

The Queen, by consent of the King, was dressed in the Italian fashion, and covered with golden lilies, pearls, and precious stones. All became her remarkably and she shewed so much grace and majesty that she was considered, at least by the Italians, (qu. French) the handsomest of the females present, for the Countess of Amerque, the Duchess of Ventadour, and Mademoiselle Guise, the most distinguished, did not come near her by far.

The apparel of the princesses and other ladies was very rich, but as (goffo) barbarous as it was splendid. Some, for example, wore hoop petticoats of a circumference perfectly senseless, and out of all proportion with their little bodies. Their dresses were of various colours, carefully embroidered, but not on patterns too minute and without good design. The newest fashion of head-dress is not unpleasing, and resembles the Italian: pearls and diamonds were not spared, but heaped without order or taste upon arms, shoulders, and head; the Italians, on the contrary, by more judicious distribution, made double effect with fewer materials. The men dress themselves in general much better than the women, and in fact for the most part in the Spanish and Italian fashion. Their embroideries, numerous and rich, and extremely refined as they were, presented nevertheless the defects before mentioned: the design was

faulty, and every thing so little, overloaded, and confused, that it presented nothing clear to the eye, and the ground of the stuff could not be discovered. In Italy the neck is seldom so laboured but produces with half the cost a much greater splendour and display.

The King wore white unslashed hose without gold, (*un colletto di pelle di fiori di Spagna guarnito di nero*). A barett with an heron's plume, knot of pearl, and rose of diamonds, and over his dress the order of St. Esprit. The Switzers and pages were dressed in brown velvet; remarked nothing distinguished in the liveries of the other gentlemen.

Room was made as well as possible for the ball in the great saloon. The King began with the Queen a Chiarentana, which they call here the great dance, and which lasts a long time. Then followed an (*Hillarda*) galliard, in which ladies and gentlemen take one another alternately and first form a great circle. Then one places himself at the head and leads the others after his fashion until the passage of the music which belongs to him is over, and he is at the lower end. Then follows the 2d, the 3d, till all the gentlemen have undertaken the conduct and brought it to a conclusion. Next came a coranto, in which the gentleman, nearly running, leads his lady round in a circle, and to the place where he

wishes to set her. Here he seizes her, lifts her somewhat from the ground, and at the moment when she again stands on her feet she is hurried on in a similar course by another partner. The gentlemen at last take their ladies under the arm, turn round in narrow circles, and lift them from the ground in time to the music. Any one who wants dexterity or practice in this movement is liable to fall or turn giddy. All the dances for the rest are merry and rapid like the humour of the nation. The gentlemen lay aside, in dancing, their swords and cloaks, and wear like the ladies white and thin shoes. The king took part only in the first dance, moving and dancing, and following the music with gesture and position.—At this festivity there were present some who stole hats and mantles with such dexterity, and passed them on from hand to hand, so as in the beginning to escape all detection. Some Lyonnese, however, took the thing so ill, that they fell upon all they met, and several were wounded and some killed on the spot.

3. Reception and disposition of Mary of Medici. Upon the whole we have not observed that the Queen shewed much cheerfulness, the which is the less unnatural on occasion of such a change of customs and persons, inasmuch as she has been brought up with much tenderness and respect. Now, although

elevated in rank, she can scarcely pass a moment free from tedious society, the servants press even into her chamber; at table, and elsewhere, she is treated in an homely fashion (*alla domestica*); is not seldom obliged to pass on foot from one place to another; and is often in difficulties on account of the bad behaviour of her Italian servants. These, however, are trifles, and I believe it troubles her more that the King shews her little tenderness, and it is openly said that his Majesty is not too well satisfied with her. To this must be added that he never remains long in one place, that she must accompany him everywhere, and he then deports himself towards her with familiarity and homeliness, bordering in her apprehension on contempt. Within a few days, however, she appears more cheerful, takes courage and accommodates herself better to this free behaviour. Thus the King has taken her with him to supper and a play, and to the chase, and she will it is to be hoped accustom herself more and more to the persons and way of life. On the other hand, the name and house of Medicis has been so hated here since the time of Catherine, that the Queen will have great difficulties to contend with, and would perhaps have been happier had she espoused some prince of her own country.

4. The French music, and the King's chapel at

Lyons.—The music at the festival pleased, not as a work of art, but only by the excellence of the voices. The three choirs never sounded well together, did not interchange well with one another, did not swell and fall, or chime in suddenly, (all which is so pleasing,) but sang on without interruption with the same melancholy monotony with which the *misere* is sung in Italy.

LETTER LXXIX.

Meeting of Francis I. and Henry VIII. — Tournament and Festival of Queen Elizabeth in England.

THE simplicity of the habits of our sovereigns in this day is doubly striking when the present is more closely compared with the past. The suite, for example, of Henry VIII., at his conference with Francis I., included several archbishops, bishops, dukes, earls, knights, gentlemen, chaplains, chamberlains, pages, &c.* After these are mentioned, four royal messengers; seven officers of account; seven in the baking establishment; fourteen in the bread and victualling office; fifteen in the cellar; ten in the dairy; seven in the beer cellar; four in the spice department; four confectioners, two for wafers; six pot boilers; thirteen coverers of the table, six in the laundry, seven in the kitchen; eleven lar-

* Rymer supp. Henry VIII., Vol. II. No. 97. *Regny d'Angleterre*. Vol. XXXIX. p. 316. *Chambre du Levant*.

ders (lardours), three in the boiling-house; sixteen carvers, seven in the poultry house, five in the slaughter-house; thirteen kitchen boys; twelve pastry bakers; sixteen waiters; four servers of the table; three superintendents; six door-keepers; five quarter-masters; eight tent-pitchers; two cartwrights; twenty-five persons in the chapel; seven stable servants; eight shoeing smiths; five nailers; four falconers; six footmen; seven heralds; saddlers, embroiderers, gold thread drawers, stirrup makers, feather dressers, polishers, armourers, joiners.

Besides the state of the King, the Queen, Wolsey, each Duke had also their suite. According to a programme of March 12, 1519, the Queen was to be accompanied by—

1 Duchess	with 4 women, 6 servants, 12 horses.
10 Countesses....	3 4 8
12 Baronesses....	2 3 6
20 Ladies 1 2 4
14 Young do.	1 2 3
6 Women of the chamber	1 2
1 Earl	with 9 Knights, 24 chaplains
3 Bishops30 chaplains, 102 servants, 20
4 Barons16 chaplains, 72 48, &c.

The totals for the state of the ^{*}King and Queen amount to 116 persons of the nobility, spiritual and

temporal; forty-three ladies; twenty chamberwomen and maids of honour; thirty chaplains and servants *aux armes*; ninety-two women of service; 901 persons for the service of the stable, and guard of the King and Queen; gentlemen in service, 1516; other followers 3414. In all 5072 persons with 2865 horses.

Wolsey alone had with him seventy-two gentlemen and chaplains, 238 other servants, and 150 horses. In like manner an Archbishop had with him fifteen gentlemen and chaplains; 110 servants, sixty horses; seven marquesses or earls; five bishops; twenty barons; seventy knights, &c. The Lord Marshal Essex had, as an Earl, forty-two servants and twenty-two horses, and on account of his office 100 horses more and 130 servants.

Inasmuch as all this appears in the highest degree excessive, says King Henry, let the number of followers be limited, and neither King Francis nor myself will allow any one to bring with him a greater number of followers.

A festival held by Queen Elizabeth, in the spring of 1581, at Hampton Castle, appears to have presented greater variety and attraction.

On both sides, and at either end of an extensive place scaffolds were erected for the numerous spec-

tators *. First appeared forty lords and gentlemen, very richly dressed and adorned with jewels, on Italian and Spanish horses sumptuously caparisoned. Then eight heralds who bore the arms of England, and four trumpeters dressed in yellow and red velvet. Four Marshals and Judges of the lists, accompanied by seven gentlemen. Then the four lords of combatants, viz., first, the Earl of Arundel. Several of his people marched in advance of a kind of platform of painted linen, and drawn upon wheels. Beneath were concealed singers and musicians; upon it were seen two cannons with bulwarks and gunners, who fired off balls lighted with spirituous and perfumed liquors. Behind this platform rode six trumpeters dressed in red and yellow satin, with red, white, and yellow plumes. Six pages in embroidered velvet of the same colours with devices and emblems. Their Italian horses with rich caparisons, and housings with cyphers embroidered in gold. Twenty-nine gentlemen with cloak; doublet, vest, and hose of yellow satin, followed by four well mounted officers of the stable. Then the Earl of Arundel magnificently armed from head to foot; his harness, with half

* MSS. Dupuy, Vol. 33. Letter of an eye witness, subscribed Nellot; probably attached to the French embassy.

raised work of leaves and flowers, and a *shirt* of mail (*bas de saye*) richly adorned with gold and pearls. After him thirty men in vest and hose of yellow velvet; with upper vest of crimson velvet without mantles. Two pages and four grooms.

The troop of the Earl of Arundel was followed by that of the Earl of Windsor. Four trumpeters on horseback, with orange suits, vest and hose of white and red satin; large plumes of the same colour. Twenty gentlemen on foot, the same colours, mantles of orange velvet, gold chains about the neck. They carried lances; the arms and mottoes of their master covered with tiffany.

There follows similar descriptions of the troops of other gentlemen. The four troops having run the entire career with lances in rest and closed visors, drew themselves up in order before the Queen. An antique tower was now rolled forward by machinery, at the top of which was a triangular golden lantern with a light burning. Out of an opening in the tower a great snake rolled itself, which attempted to climb certain trees at the side richly laden with fruit. Behind the tower went six eagles, well counterfeited, but with feathers of various colours. In the interior of each eagle were concealed trumpeters and other musicians who played to admiration. Then followed two horses without saddles, all gilded over, and upon each was mounted

an Irish youth with his long flowing hair also gilded, and dressed in loose flying silver tiffany. Then knights, trumpeters, pages. Then a triumphal car, which to appearance moved backwards, and upon it the sisters the Fates, who held prisoner in a great golden chain, a knight who wore a suit of brown velvet and golden armour. Behind, musicians with wide sleeves, great false beards, and high caps. Then a knight, &c. Next to him a learned doctor, who shewed him the picture of a lady, and when the knight looked towards it sighing, the doctor comforted him with gestures, and promised him good fortune.

Every knight, as he passed, saluted the Queen, who was placed with the Dauphin and the French Ambassador at one end of the lists. With her many ladies, dressed for the most part in the French fashion. On the following day was a combat with swords, to match that with lances of the first, and there was no lack of numberless other inventions and sports. Thus for example there were to be seen little coaches drawn by asses, the latter so sewed up in white satin as to make spectators believe it their natural skin.

LETTER LXXX.

Festivals on the arrival of the Duke of Savoy at Saragossa in 1585, and at the baptism of the Infant Balthazar, 1629.

THE following account* of a festival given on the reception of the Duke of Savoy by Philip II., in Saragossa, in 1585, is given here as illustrative of Spanish festivals and solemnities.

The Viceroy of Arragon, who had been sent to meet the Duke on the frontier of Catalonia, announced on the 9th of March to the King, that the latter meant to lodge for the night two miles from Saragossa. On the morning of the 10th, (it was the first Sunday in Lent,) a great part of the nobility and people of Saragossa went out to meet the Duke, but between three and four in the afternoon, the King mounted an horse without trappings or any

* From the despatches of the French Ambassador Longlie. St. Germain, MSS. Vol. 796. p. 74.

thing but a saddle covered with black velvet. He himself was dressed in black, and quite simply, with a cap and small boots. With him were all the princes and lords of the Court richly attired, the equerries at the side bare-headed, in advance the Burgundian, German and Spanish guard in black velvet. The latter having been drawn up at the side of the highway, and the Duke having been long waited for, there appeared first twenty-nine postillions uniformly attired, then gentlemen and officers two and two, all in grey or green coats, open sleeves set with silver, and hats with white plumes. The Duke, who was encompassed with the most distinguished Lords, so soon as he espied the King, set his horse in a gallop, dismounted at some eighty paces from him, and ran towards him. Philip on his side advanced some fifteen or twenty paces towards him; the Duke bent his knee, endeavoured to kiss the King's hand, and said in Spanish, Sir, my joy to behold you is so great that it deprives me of speech. The king seized both his hands, bade him rise, and embraced him. Philip, as they continued their ride, offering him place on the right, the Duke long refused it, till Don Diego of Cardova observed, he should do what the King desired. He nevertheless always kept himself a little behind.

After they had reached the castle, the Duke was.

presented to the Infante and the Infantas. He then made a toilette himself, and was forthwith afterwards, in the presence of the whole court, the Cardinal Granvelle officiating, betrothed to the Infanta Catalina. Hereupon the King went to table alone, the Duke with the Infantas, and after the banquet was a ball.

On Monday the solemn espousals took place, but the feasting, tournaments, running the ring, tilting, &c., lasted from fifteen to twenty days, on all which the young Spanish nobility lavished much money.

This description, by a Frenchman, is left far behind by a Spanish work entitled, "Faithful description of the great festival which took place at Madrid in 1629, on the occasion of the baptism of the Prince Balthazar." On Sunday, November 4th, a May morning rose upon Madrid, succeeding a whole week of March wind and April rain. But the king of the planets chose to solemnize this day, and to shew himself to the court without a curtain*. The water hung suspended in the air, the wind was hushed, fire descended on the earth, and heaven suffered itself to be robbed thereof. There came

* In the Spanish, this conveys a pun. Ofreciendose a la vista de la corte sin cortina,

from their abodes, the two regions, the elementary and the heavenly, to wait upon our Prince, and to prepare for him a festival. The labour of many days and the expenditure of the city displayed themselves on the way from the hall of the palace as far as the church of St. John. The way thus prepared was broad as a roomy street, so that three coaches could pass with little difficulty. The great balcony of the hall bore on this occasion the part of principal entrance. The ascent was from a scaffold by a staircase of four stockades, and as many landing places, and broad as the whole way. No step was in need of a carpet, for each stood there, albeit of wood, yet so cunningly fashioned and coloured, that it palmed itself for stone upon all those who had not private knowledge of the material of its structure.

From every window of the hall was a stair, painted on either side in light brown, yellow, and white, and the beauty of the work was further heightened by the arms of all the kingdoms and lordships belonging to his Majesty, which, with great order and proportion, were painted and set up at intervals on both sides. All these escutcheons were surmounted by one much larger facing the entrance of the church, with the motto—*Ingrederere maxime princeps, tibi mater ecclesia legem præbet et gregem.*

From preparations of such magnitude many drew accumulated profit, building not mere scaffolds, but houses with much timber work, of which no one had the use without sacrifice of his money. From the solemnity of the day and the number of the people which Madrid includes, we may easily conjecture the number of those who assisted at this transaction, and with how much more right the square of the palace might groan under such a burthen, than the boat of Acheron under that of *Æneas*.

The curiosity of so many people was not left to waste itself, as at about half past three their sight was fed in the following order:—at the going out from the palace, all the councillors were seen ranked according to rule, and placed according to their dignities, viz., France, India, the orders of knighthood, Aragon, the Inquisition, the Royal signet, all the cavalry of the court, so rich, so dazzling, so sumptuous, that there was no colour that had not its worth, and no object of attire which had not contributed to please.

The conduct of ingeniously contrived devices of taste excited emulation and an endless variety, and every thing before thought impossible, found itself in one day brought into execution, and was glad to have lost its hope for the future, inasmuch it was arrived in one day at an happy completion.

That which might have been the summit of all solemnity, pomp, and opulence, was in fact nothing but the beginning:—viz., the four sceptre bearers in the royal liveries, with their sceptres of silver gilt, the chiefs of the households of their Majesties with their staves, four kings at arms with badges, the grandees of Spain covered, except those who performed services at the baptism of the Prince,—as for example, the taking out of rich vases adorned with flowers the articles thereto appertaining. With grandeur like this, no grandeur other than a royal one could compete, without manifest insanity and certain discomfiture.

Then followed in the arms of the Countess Olivarez, the Prince, our lord, in a cradle of crystal, of which the work exceeded the material, which displayed at once pearls in profusion, and jealously protected its burthen against the slightest breath of wind. Four persons, honourable in birth, and gorgeous in apparel, served as assistants. On the Prince's left was the Count Duke, his head uncovered, concealing the tastefulness of his apparel with the mantle and robe of his duty of the day. The upper garment down to the feet was of white and gold tissue, and over this a carnation collar with golden lace.

As sponsors followed the Queen of Hungary and

the infant Don Carlos,—whose sumptuosity of apparel demands from an historian of splendour an entire volume. The Queen, walking without mantle, supported herself with her right hand on the head of a page; and with the left she was led by her brother. Donna Margaretha di Tadora, first lady of the household, carried the train, then the procession was joined by all the ladies in gowns with splendid ruffs, and accompanied by many and distinguished lords. Here the precious stones of the east, and the precious metals of the west, found their point of meeting in such quantity as to keep the secret of the apparel without betraying the colour of the stuff on which they were laid.

LETTER LXXXI.

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Journey of the Great Mogul Jehan, from Agra to Lahore, in
September, 1638. MSS. Dupuy.

A PIEMONTESE has left a description in MS. of a journey of the Great Mogul, from which the following is extracted.

The Great Mogul, whose name is in his own language, Pacia Suggiani, or the wise and prudent, having determined to change his place of residence, gave order to the astrologers to determine from the appearances of the heavens what other town he should choose for his abode, and on what day, favoured by fortune, he should set forth. In compliance with this command, the astrologers appeared before the Mogul and declared:—that if he would take his departure from Agra on Thursday, the 12th September, his happy arrival in Lahore was not to

be doubted. The Mogul, so soon as he heard this, in order that the number of his attendants might not be excessive, and scarcity ensue of provisions, determined what princes, officers, and servants should accompany him, and ordered two instalments to be disbursed to them, that money might not be wanting to supply the necessary carriages, beasts of draught, provisions, tents, &c., and to prepare themselves completely within six weeks for breaking up. In like manner were the princes and great men instructed to disburse to their subordinates from one and a half to two instalments for the same purpose. As soon as this was known, the markets were filled with provisions of all kinds, and after the Mogul had chosen and paid for what suited him, the turn of purchase came for all the others.

At the same time the Mogul went into his seraglio, selected from among his women those who pleased him most, and ordered them to make the necessary preparations for travel. Each one in accordance with this order, chose according to her rank and dignity more or fewer slaves and eunuchs, some as many as 500. Those who were employed in sewing, embroidering, and the like, were conveyed on horses and camels, the women of the Mogul, on the contrary, on elephants, and one only preferred to be conveyed in a palanquin. For

this purpose the Mogul caused 800 female elephants to be collected from their pastures in the neighbourhood of Agra ; 600 male on the other hand were appointed to guard the others, of which each bore on his back a wooden tower with the soldiers appertaining. The latter are armed partly with bows and arrows, partly with musquets. Two pieces of brass artillery, each five feet long, are pointed in front of every tower, and two others to the rear, and are loaded either with one large ball or several smaller. The greatest and handsomest elephants were appointed to the guard of the Mogul and to carry his arms and banners ; many thousand camels were laden with the most various articles, with arms and munitions of war, with dresses, house and kitchen furniture, &c. In like manner, every great man had with him many soldiers, officers, slaves and women, who were transported in sumptuous carriages or cars, upon camels, horses, or oxen. Ten thousand oxen conveyed water for the Mogul, his women and his court, and to every ox was attached a man to look to its lading. In addition to these, 500 camels are always passing to and fro to fetch water from the Ganges, for the Mogul tastes none other, nor is any other used in his kitchen.

The Ganges is worshipped by idolatrous Indians, so that every one, rich or poor, makes a pilgrimage to

it to wash himself. Many are convinced that their soul has the happiness to be destined to enter the body of a cow so soon as they shall have passed three times through that purifying process. The cow is worshipped, and one of their saints had a trance, in which he saw God Almighty riding on a cow, and his wife and son upon other beasts, objects of veneration. If God shew such honour to the cow, it follows that he judges souls of the highest sanctity alone worthy to enter the body of that animal. The cow enjoys in India a happy existence. She is tended in case of sickness in hospitals set apart for her, and is fed with fruits, wholesome herbs, sugarcane, and other dainties. Birds and some other animals are treated in like manner.

Five thousand persons were appointed to pitch the tents, to fix the tent poles, thirty yards each in length, and to carry trenches round the tents. Ten thousand persons, armed with sword, shield, bow and arrows, served for the lading and unlading of the elephants, camels, oxen and other beasts. They march always at the side of the latter, in order that nothing may be lost, give out the tents and receive them again, watch the herds, &c. It were altogether too long to describe how many thousand men and beasts were put in motion for this journey of the Mogul and his suite, on which account, in fear lest

provisions should fail, he instructed his father-in-law not to depart till some months later. The same command was issued to the company of the goldsmiths, very numerous, and held in much consideration at the court. In the Indian tongue, they are called Carcena. Out of apprehension also that their works, which they were ordered to take altogether with them, might come into danger on the long journey, they confided them to the head of their society called the Deroga.

The first born son of the Mogul followed him with his women, children, and a very numerous court, as also his two younger brothers, of whom one already was invested with the kingdom of Doltaba as an appanage, which kingdom was obtained three years since by intrigue, upon the death of its king. In it is situated the finest fortress in the East. To the other brother was allotted the kingdom of Candahar, which was taken from the Persians also by intrigue, and for which he is still at war with them.

Besides these, the Mogul has also other sons by his own daughter, who still lives with him as his wife, but in a house separate from the seraglio. She accompanies him to the chase and every where else, which is not allowed to the other women. She exercises so much power over him, that she carries

every wish into execution, and has already provided great appanages for her sons. Before the Mogul lived with her, she was married to a Prince named Rafercan who was in high favour. When the Mogul conceived his passion for her and wished to find a pretext and excuse for it, he sent for the Mufti and told him that he possessed a garden, and would fain know whether he might dispose of the fruits thereof at his pleasure. The Mufti, not guessing what snare was laid for him, gave for answer: if the garden be your own, the fruit belongs to you. That is sufficient, replied the Mufti. He sent for his daughter and proposed to her to sleep with him, the Mufti having given his permission. The daughter agreed, and on the next morning, the Dervise who, according to custom, attended to recite the morning prayer, was told he must remain without the door, as the Mogul was still lying with his daughter. When at last he was risen, the Dervise told him he had committed a great sin, but received for answer that every thing had happened by permission of the Mufti. Hastening to the latter, he received an absolute denial that the Mufti had ever said a word on the subject or accorded such a permission. The Mogul, however, now summoned the Mufti, and asked him how he could deny having given such permission. Do you not remember my ques-

tion respecting the garden, and is not my daughter a fruit springing from my garden? The Mufti, aware of the evil design of the Mogul, departed without reply.

While about this time the eldest son of the Mogul was making every preparation for setting out with his wife, the latter bore him a second son, on account of which, festivities were set on foot through the whole town, and congratulations were poured in from all tribes and nations, to which, according to custom, however, prayers and petitions were added. So for example, the Gentelli or Banians took this opportunity to petition that no ox or cow might be slaughtered for a term of ten days, and upon the Princes publishing an order to such effect, held a great feast of thanksgiving in their pagoda, saying that they had liberated as many souls as would have been expelled from the bodies of those animals.

In the meantime, the Mogul ordered that the doors of the tents and the fence which was to be drawn around them should be of wood. The first of these entrances was of such height and size that one of the loftiest elephants could pass through it with his tower. Five hundred men were also required to carry these doors entire on the march, to raise them by the help of long ropes, and to fix the posts deep in the ground. These principal doors, as well as the

other smaller ones, were every time carried forward in great haste, in order that before the arrival of the Mogul every thing might be duly set in order. The walls of the royal tent were more than a mile in diameter and three in circumference. They consisted without and within of strong painted canvass, held together with Indian cane, so that not even a musquet ball could penetrate them. The height was from two and a half to three fathoms, and at every twenty or thirty paces was planted a wooden pillar fastened with several ropes, that the force of the wind might not upset it. In the middle of this circumvallation was the Mogul's own tent, of incredible magnificence. In spite of its enormous height and breadth, it was made entirely of the finest cloth, and within of silk and painted canvass, and was set up and fixed in the same manner as the fence above described. The principal division might be compared to a great square, in the centre of which stood the throne of the Mogul, where twice in the week he gave public audience, and listened to complaints, surrounded, however, by his guards. There were besides several chambers and partitions, in which the great men assembled, for private audiences of the Mogul, for his eating, sleeping, &c. Round the tent of the sovereign, stood the tents of the women, the eunuchs, the court attendants; the tent of his

daughter being distinguished above all the others for size and magnificence. Further removed, but equally astonishing for size and splendour, came the tents of his eldest son and his court. Streets ran as in a city, in appointed directions; objects for purchase of every description were exposed in great places; and artisans and traders of the most multifarious description followed the march of the army. They were paid by the Mogul, and under obligation to suffer no want of any article of their produce or manufacture which might be called for.

The suite of the princes and great men amounts, according to the rate of their respective dignity, to from 2000 to 6000 cavalry and as many infantry, the latter armed with sword, shield, and arrows. Like the Mogul, but in proportion to their station, they carry with them women, slaves, eunuchs, court, artisans, elephants, camels, horses, carriages, oxen, &c., plant their tent and banner in the centre, and every thing else in regulated order around.

About midnight of the 6th and 7th September, the cavalry and foot first set itself in motion, armed with fire-arms, or with shield and sword, with bows or lances in variety of fashion, and according to the usage of their countries. The banners and other devices showed to what division the troops belonged, and under what commander or prince they were

arrayed. This procession lasted till day-break; then followed till the hour of nine, elephants, camels, horses, waggons, and baggage. Then appeared some of the first captains of the royal guard, on horseback or on foot, with women and children; then several princes, with a still larger following of every kind, horse and foot, elephants and camels, women and children, slaves and eunuchs, carriages and litters, &c. Some of the latter were covered with silver or gold, and meat and drink was likewise carried about in silver vessels. About midday the royal guard put itself in motion, and was joined by the elephants with the King's baggage and women: 800 female elephants were almost exclusively employed for the conveyance of the tents and other necessaries; then followed 100 elephants arrayed for war, with towers and artillery; then eighty others with towers gilded or silvered, in which were the women of the Mogul. At their side rode their female attendants upon the finest horses richly plumed and caparisoned. Others were two and two upon camels with small wooden houses on their backs, in which the inmates could sit, stand, or sleep. Round about were to be seen eunuchs, grooms, and leaders of the camels and horses, who took heed that the street should be clear, and that the motion of the procession should be uninterrupted. Next came the royal pages richly

arrayed and mounted, and the hour approached when the Mogul himself was to mount his elephant. First, however, went eighty more of the finest and strongest elephants, with gold or silver plate, and caparisoned with richly embroidered silken housings. Several carried sumptuous banners reaching down to the ground. Together with these old elephants came not a few young ones, which played and gambolled with the people without doing any mischief. Measures, however, were taken to prevent too great a press of the people, and where exhortation was insufficient they were driven back with blows.

At the hour fixed by the astrologers, the Mogul came forth from the palace with his son, aged six years: the elephant appointed for him saluted him three times with his trunk, and at the same instant there sounded numerous trumpets and kettle drums, and all the artillery was discharged, so that one thought the world was falling to pieces. The elephant at the same time bent down almost on his knee, for the convenience of the Mogul in mounting. The tower and all the articles it contained were gilded; in the middle sat the Mogul, with a sceptre in his hand and a crown on his head, both set with the largest and most costly diamonds, rubies, and pearls. In front of the tower, upon the neck of the elephant,

sat its driver ; behind the tower an eunuch in great favour with the Mogul, provided with a great vessel full of gold. The Mogul had a fair and majestic appearance, and also his little son, armed with bow and arrows, made a goodly appearance on his elephant. Behind them went eight elephants in like array as subsidiaries, and 200 horses with silver ornaments and housings of gold tissue, and great plumes, led by royal pages. Then followed sixty Arabian horses of such beauty and excellence, that one of them cost from 4000 to 6000 crowns. Their saddles and frontlets were richly adorned with pearls and precious stones, and their plumes were no less brilliant. The Mogul often diverts himself with seeing them mounted, on which occasions none of the riders make use of a stirrup.

At last the elephant of the Mogul put itself in motion with a solemn and serious pace. The war music again struck up, the artillery was again discharged, the eunuch flung gold to the right and left, and from all sides they shouted, live the King, health to the King. Those, however, who did not remove from his path received blows, and no one was suffered at the windows or on the battlements of the houses, for no one, it is held, ought to be higher than the Mogul. At his side rode a nabob in high favour, then several princes, and among them the one to

whom he had given his daughter whom he afterwards took away. She herself was borne on a gilded chair, was surrounded by a very numerous court, and, like the Mogul, was every where received with shouts of applause. To her belonged, among other things, two oblong litters of such size that several persons were conveyed in them. They were inlaid with gold and silver, and adorned with great mirrors. Then followed a golden chair borne by seven persons, other litters borne by elephants, a second throne of the Mogul magnificently adorned, then again camels, horses, &c., without end.

The Mogul causes himself to be weighed every year, in order to ascertain whether he be grown heavier or lighter. He sits on these occasions in a golden scale, and precious stones and other rarities are laid in the opposite.

The procession of the Mogul was from seven to eight miles long, (qu. German,) the camp from six to seven broad. A part of his power being occupied with fighting the Persians, he had not more than 120,000 men with him.

Eight days later followed his eldest son; a month later the Nabob Assafcan; the latter with some 40,000 men. This man might be compared to an high chancellor. At least he had at the time of the former Mogul's death such power, that he raised the

present to the throne, contrary to the intentions of the deceased; drove out the prince Bolaschi, and caused the others to be put to death. Assafcan is a friend of the Christians, and so enormously rich, that as often as the Mogul pays him a visit, he presents him with 200,000 crowns in pearls, precious stones, and other rarities. The Mogul is accustomed to go to him every week, partly to show observance to the old man, aged seventy, partly to carry off the presents above mentioned.

THE END.

ERRATUM IN VOL. I.

Page 18, last line but one of the text, for January 25, 1820,
read January 25, 1520.

